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A N
ENQUIRY

Into the MEANING of

DEMONIACKS

IN THE

New Testament.

A. A. SYKES

Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμόνια.

Pfalm xcv. 5.

By T.P.A.P.O.A.B.I.T.C.O.S.

Sykes

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T O T H E
R E A D E R.

TH E Design of the following Enquiry is to clear up a Difficulty which naturally arises in most Men's Minds, upon reading the Cures done by our Saviour upon Persons that were *possessed by Devils*. There are but few thinking People, I imagine, who do not *experience* in themselves, what the *pious and profoundly learned Mr. Joseph Mede* declares that he had *experienced*——to *marvel* how these *Demoniacks* should so abound in and about that Nation which was the People of God, (whereas in other Nations and their Writings we hear of no such,) and that too, as it should seem, about the Time of our Saviour's being on Earth only, because in the Time before we find no mention of them in Scripture. The Wonder is yet the greater, — not to have been accounted then by the People of the Jews any strange or extraordinary Thing, but as a Matter usual. Vid. Mr. Mede's Discourse on John x. 20. The true Solution of this Difficulty is attempted to be shewn in the following Papers.

Whether the Reasons usually assigned by Men of Learning will prove, that Persons were strictly and properly *possessed with the Devil*, viz.
“ That Devils *spake* out of the possessed Persons ;
“ that they were *sent* out of them, and they *entered*
“ into the Herd of *Swine* ; that *personal* Actions
“ as well as Speeches are ascribed to them, which
“ can never be ascribed to meer Phrensy and
“ Madness, &c.” must be left to the Judgment of the Reader. If he is desirous of seeing that
Side

To the READER.

Side of the Question set in the strongest Light, I know of none that has treated it with greater Accuracy, than Dr. *Whitby*, in his *General Prefaces* to his *Annotations*. Vid. Vol. I. p. xviii. and Vol. II. p. xxvi—xxx.

Whether the Solution which I maintain, or that of Others, be judged to be true, the Cause of Christ is not affected. For in both Cases a real Miracle is done; the Person affected is cured; and the Evidence arising from Miracle for the Truth of Christianity, is equally strong. The Miracle is the same, if the Person be cured, whatever is the Cause of his Distemper, whether it proceeds from *unclean Spirits*, and their Operations upon Human Bodies; or from any Defect, or from any præternatural and extraordinary Motions in them.

My present Design carries me no further than to consider the Cases of *Demoniacks* in the New Testament, and to produce such Authorities as were necessary to make them understood. Perhaps I may proceed to explain what the *First Christians* meant by their *Demoniacks*; and then I shall distinctly consider what *Justin*, *Origen*, *Theophilus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Minutius Felix*, *Lactantius*, &c. have said upon this Subject. And it is for this Reason that I have said nothing here about the Expulsion of Demons from *Altars*, or of the *Confessions made by them*, when exorcised by Christians; This being the proper Subject of a distinct Enquiry into the Meaning of *Demoniacks* in the first Ages after Christ.

(1)

A N

ENQUIRY

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DEMONIACKS

I N T H E

New Testament.

THERE is not any one Instance of Miracle in the New Testament, which more excites the Curiosity of People, than the Cure of those who were possessed by Devils. Every one is apt to enquire — What these Possessions were? How comes it to pass that we read of so many Persons, *just at that particular Time*, under the Power of Devils? Whence is it, that we seem so rarely to meet with Accounts of the same Disorders amongst Men, either *before* or *after* the Times of Jesus Christ? Whence was it that God permitted

B

so

so much Power to such unclean Spirits, who delight in doing Mischief? These are reasonable Enquiries, and deserve a serious Answer; and therefore I shall attempt impartially to consider them.

In order to this, it will be necessary to observe

First, That the general Notion of *Demons* amongst the ancient *Greeks*, was not the Notion which Christians have usually now adays to the Word *Devils*; but They meant by it in general, the *Souls of departed Men*. *Hesiod* tells us, that in ^a the “ Golden Age, when
“ *Saturn* reigned in Heaven, Men lived like
“ Gods, free from Evils, and died just as if
“ they had fallen asleep: These were made
“ *DEMONS*, *Good* Beings, the Guards of
“ mortal Men; They observe the Good and
“ Evil done here; and cloathed with Air,
“ they are every where on Earth, number-
“ less,” &c. These were *Good* Beings, and the Authors of *Good* to Mankind. The *Souls*

^a Χρύσειον μὲν πρῶτισα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
Ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν —————
Οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνῳ ἦσαν ὅτ’ ἔρανος ἐμβασίλευεν

When this Race died,

Τοὶ μὲν Δαίμονες εἰσι, Διὸς μεγάλας δὲ βελάας,
Ἑσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
Οἱ ῥα φυλάσσειν τε δίκας καὶ χέτλια ἔργα,
Ἥρα ἑσάμβροι, πάντα φοιτῶντες ἐπ’ αἶαν.

Again,

Τρεῖς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πελυσσοτέρη
Ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
Οἷρα φυλάσσειν, &c.

Hesiod Oper. i.
of

of these Men, after they were removed from this earthly Life, were made the Inspectors of Human Affairs, and as they *dispensed* good Things to Men, they were called *Demons*. Other Writers have made *Demons* the Dispensers of *evil* Things as well as good; the Plagues and *Terrors* of Mankind, and the Authors of much Evil to them.

Secondly, *Homer* makes *Minerva*, after she had advised *Achilles* to lay aside his Anger against *Agamemnon*,——He makes *Minerva* I say, retire to Heaven to the Palace of *Jupiter* ^c to the other *Demons*, or *Gods*. And who they were is plain, viz. *Apollo*, *Vulcan*, &c. The *Scholiast* says, that ^d he calls the *Gods*, *Demons*, either as *knowing all Things*, or *distributing all Things* [both good and bad] to Men; and he likewise observes, that *Hesiod* calls those *Demons* (as *Proclus* likewise ^e had observed) τῆς ἐκ τῆς ζῆν μεταστάντας, *Such as are removed from this Life*.

^b Παρὰ τὸ δαῖναι τὰ πάντα, ἢ μερίζειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. *Proclus* in *Hesiod*. οὐ παρὰ τὸ δαίμονας εἶναι——ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ δειμάειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐκφοβεῖν, δαίμονας τινὰς προσφυῶς ὀνομάζεσθαι. *Euseb. Præ. Ev. l. 3. c. 5.*

^c Δώματα' ἐς ἀγχιόχοιο Διὸς, μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλας.

Iliad I. v. 222.

Ipsi putatis eos esse Deos quos nos dæmones scimus.

Tertul. ad Scapul.

^d Δαίμονας καλεῖ τῆς Θεῶς, ἥτοι δαίμονας ἔμπειροι γὰρ καὶ ἰδίως πάντων αὐτοὶ εἰσιν, ἢ ὅτι Διαιτηταί εἰσι καὶ διοικηταί, τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

^e *Proclus* his Words are, Τοὺς μεθισταμένους τῆς ζῆν, ὄντας δὲ φύλακας τῆς βίης τῶν ἀνθρώπων δαίμονας καλεῖ.

Thirdly, Though *Hesiod* reckoned his *Demons* to be such only as lived on Earth in the *Golden Age*, in *Saturn's Time*, yet *Minerva*, *Apollo*, *Vulcan*, &c. were reckon'd likewise *Demons* by *Homer*, though they were born somewhat later. For *Apollo* was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Latona*, and therefore two Generations later than *Saturn*. *Vulcan* was *Jupiter's* Son by *Juno*. *Minerva* was the Daughter, some say, of *Jupiter*; Others of *Neptune*. *Mars* was the Son of *Jupiter*: and *Hebe* his Daughter. And thus we may trace the Origin of others who are called *Demons*.

Fourthly, This Notion of *Demons*, that they were the *Souls* of such as once had lived upon Earth, is so universally allowed by Jews and Christians as well as by Heathens, that scarce will any one dispute it. *Justin Martyr* says^f *The Gods of the Heathen are Demons*: and more expressly still he calls them^g *The Souls of the deceased*. And defining what he meant by *Demoniacks*, he says,^h *They, who are seized by the Souls of deceased Persons, are such as all Men agree in calling Demon-*

^f Δαιμόνια ἔειπεν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνων. Justin Mar. c. Tryph. p. 310.

^g Ψυχαὶ ἀποθανόντων Apol. 2.

^h Οἱ ψυχαῖς ἀποθανόντων λαμβανόμενοι, καὶ ριπτεύμενοι, εἰς δαιμονιολήπειαν ——— καλεῖσθαι πάντες. Ibid.

acks. *Josephus* calls them ⁱ *the Souls of wicked Men.*

We find it thus a common Notion that *Demons*, and the *Souls* of departed Men, were imagined to be the same: But whether they had any *Powers* committed to them over Mankind, notwithstanding it is so frequently *asserted*, yet I do not find it any where satisfactorily *proved*: Nor do I think that any one could *prove*, that *Jupiter*, or *Apollo*, or *Neptune*, or any of the *Good Men* of the Golden Age, after they were departed this Life, (and much less *wicked Men*,) had any strict and proper *Powers* over the Race of Mankind. It is one Thing to *assert* such a Notion; it is another to make it good: and they that attempt it, must prove with Certainty, that the Heathen Gods and Goddeses, *Neptune*, *Hecate*, *Ceres*, *Apollo*, &c. were the real Authors of such Actions as were imputed to them.

However, Whether *Demons* were the Souls of Good or Bad Men, or whether it can or cannot be *proved* that they had Power over Mankind, yet

Fifthly, The Notion generally, if not universally, prevailed, that those who were called *Gods* and *Demons*, were the Authors

ⁱ Δαιμόνια, ταῦτα πονηρῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα. *Joseph. de Bello Jud.* l. 7. c. 23.

and true Causes of extraordinary Distempers amongst Mankind. It was^k *Apollo* that sent the Plague upon the *Grecian* Army, in *Ho-mer*. And hence *Celsus* very justly observes, that^l *in those Times they attributed Diseases to the Anger of the immortal Gods, and were wont to desire their Assistance to cure them.* It must be observed in the

Last Place, That when any *particular Distemper* had *extraordinary* and out of the way Symptoms attending it; such as violent Distortions, or Agitations, or such Sort of Affections as they could not account for,—— They imputed such Diseases directly to their *Demons*, e. g. The *Epilepsy*, or *Falling Sickness*, (which *Æsculapius* says, was conceived just betwixt the Time of the Old and New Moon, as *Serenus Samonicus* tells us,

*Ipse Deus memorat dubiæ per tempora Lunæ
Conceptum)*

The *Epilepsy*, I say, was looked upon as a *Sacred Disease*, and was supposed to have its Origin immediately from some or other of

^k ————— Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων —————

Εἶπετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε νεῶν, μετὰ δ' Ἴον ἔηκε

Ἵουρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπάκετο, καὶ κύνας ἀργυρᾶς

Ἄντ' ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἐχευεν ἑφίεις

βαλὼν, αἰεὶ δὲ πυρὰι νεκύων κείοντο δαρμεῖαι. *Iliad* I.

^l Morbos tum ad iram deorum immortalium reiatos esse, et ab iisdem opem posci solitam. *Celsus Præf.*

the

the Gods, according as its Symptoms were stronger, or less so; and thence it was called *Lues deifica*, and *Morbus sacer*.

Hippocrates has treated at large of this Disorder, and has endeavoured to shew, that there was nothing in it that ^mpeculiarly implied that any divine Being was the Cause of it; or that there was any Thing else in it but what was natural to Man. In the Introduction to the Treatise upon this Disease, he tells us what it was that induced him to write upon this Subject: viz. That there were a Pack of Empiricks and Quacks and strolling Fellows, who pretended to have a more than ordinary Regard for the Gods, and who, covering their own Ignorance with the Veil of Deity, declared this Disease to proceed from That as the Cause; and therefore pretended to make use of Expiations, Charms, and magick Tricks to cure it. The divine Old man could not bear the Thought of such Cheats and Impostors; and therefore wrote his Book to shew, that really and in the Truth of Things, Their ^aNotions and Practice was impious and wicked, however specious it might seem, or full of Honour to the Gods: nay, though they pretended

^m Ὡς μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. Hippoc. de Morbo sacro.

ⁿ Ἐρωγε ἡ περὶ εὐσεβείας δοκέουσι λόγους ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς οἶονται, ἀλλὰ περὶ δυσσεβείας μᾶλλον, καὶ ὡς οἱ θεοὶ σὺν εἰσὶ. Τὸ τε εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεῖον αὐτῶν, ἀσεβὲς καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔστιν. Ibid.

so much Piety and Regard for them, yet their very Piety was Wickedness, and even Atheism. He then proceeds to shew that This was a mere natural Disorder, and to be resolved into the natural Course of Things, as other Distempers were ; and that it ought by no means to be imputed to any Gods, or Goddesses, or Heroes.

Those artful Cheats, who made such Pretences purely to get a Livelyhood, ascribed to some God or other this Distemper, according as the Symptoms were. ° *If, say they, the disordered Persons imitate a Goat, if they grind their Teeth, if their right Sides are convulsed, then The Mother of the Gods is the Cause of the Disorder. If the Patient speaks sharper and stronger than ordinary, they compare him to a Horse, and say that Neptune is the Cause. If he does not retain his Excrements, which often happens to those who are violently affected with this Disease, they derive this Case from Hecate Enodia. If the Party speaks shrilly and quick, as Birds, then Apollo*

° Αἶγα μιμῶνται, κὴν βρύχωνται, κὴν τὰ δεξιά σπῶνται, Μητῆρα θεῶν φασὶ αἰτίην εἶναι· ἣν δὲ ὀξύτερον, καὶ εὐτονώτερον φθέγγηται, ἵππας ἐκιάζουσι, καὶ φασὶ Ποσειδῶνα αἰτίον εἶναι. ἣν δὲ καὶ τῆς κόπρου τὴν παρίην, ὃ πολλάκις τισὶ γίνεται ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου βιαζομένησιν, Ἐνὸδ' ἐκ προσκεῖται ἡ προσωνομίη· ἣν δὲ λεπτότερον καὶ πυκνότερον οἷον ορνίθες, Ἀπόλλων Νόμιον· ἣν δὲ ἄφρον ἐν τῷ σώματι ἀφίη, καὶ τοῖσι ποσὶ λακτίζη, Ἄρης τὴν αἰτίην ἔχει· Ὀκίσα δὲ δέρματα νυκτὸς παρίσεται, καὶ φόβοι, καὶ παράνοιαι, καὶ ἀναπηδήσεις ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ, καὶ φόβητρα, καὶ φεύξεις ἔξω, Ἐκάτης φασὶν εἶναι ἐπιβλάας, καὶ Ἡρώων ἐφόδες. Ibid.

Nomius is the Cause: If He foams at his Mouth, and kicks with his Feet, Mars is the Cause. And indeed, wherever there are great Fears and Terrors in the Night, and People are besides themselves, and jump out of Bed, and are vehemently terrified, and are for running out of Doors, they say these are Snares which Hecate lays for them, and that the Heroes have taken Possession of them.

But though *Hippocrates* speaks with great Indignation against these Fellows, who made use of *Charms* and *jugling Tricks* to impose on People, and to drive out these *Demons*, I find *Aretæus* speaks more mildly. ^P Some think, says he, that this *Disease* comes upon those who are Sinners against The Moon, and therefore they call it The Sacred Disease. Others think, that it has its Name from other Pretences; either the Greatness of the Evil, for whatever is great, is called Sacred; or else because it cannot be cured by Man, but by some divine Power; or else, because it is believed that some Demon has taken Possession of the Man.

Now, If the Mother of the Gods, if Neptune, Mars, Apollo, Hecate, and the Heroes,

^P Δοκέει γὰρ τοῖσι ἐς τὴν σελήνην ἀλιτροῖσι ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἢ νῆσθαι. τὸ δὲ σεκεν ἱερὴν κικλήσκουσι τὴν πάθην. Ἄταρ καὶ δι' ἄλλας προφασίας ἢ μέγεθος τῆς κακῆς, ἱερὸν γὰρ τὸ μέγα. ἢ ἵσθαι ὅτι ἀνθρώπινης, ἀλλὰ θεῆς ἢ Δαίμονος δόξης ἐς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰσόδος. Aretæus.

were *Demons*, in the Sense of the Antients ; *i. e.* Souls of departed Men ; if the pretended Authors of the Epilepsy were Persons who once had lived upon Earth, and whom the Heathen World had foolishly or ignorantly ^a *Deified* ; if *Aretæus's* saying that the Epilepsy was called *Sacred* by some, from a Supposition that a *Demon* had entered, and taken Possession of, the deceased Person——If this be a good Comment to explain *Hippocrates*, ——We have a plain Reason why *Epileptic* Persons should be called *Demoniacks*. For if *the^r Souls of departed Men* were usually called *Demons*, and by that Word was meant, Such Beings as were no more ^f *mortal*, ^t *being translated out of this Life* ; and if Distempers were conceived to spring from *These* Beings, ——then the Persons who had such Diseases, might very properly derive a Name from the supposed *Cause* of them, and be stiled *Demoniacks*. We shall meet with Instances hereafter, of Persons who were thus named from the supposed *Cause* of their Distempers.

^a Δαιμόνιά εἰσι οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνων. Just. Mart. c. Trypho. p. 310.

^r Ψυχὰν ἀποθανόντων. Just. Mart. Apol. 2. Τὰ καλέσματα δαιμόνια πονηρῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα. Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. 7. c. 23.

^f Ἔσσεαι ἀθανάτος, θιὸς ἄμωροτ', οὐκ ἔτι θνητός. Pyth. Anrea Carm.

^t Μεθισάρμοι τῶ ζῆν. Proclus in Hesiod.

It is not the Design of this Enquiry, to enter into an Examination, whether the Souls of departed Men (be they good or bad) have any *real* Power to inflict Diseases upon us ; or whether they are *in Fact* appointed as Guards to us ; or whether they can do us either good or evil Offices. My Business is only to consider what the Notions of the Antients were : and it plainly appears that they imagined, (but never *proved*,) these *Demons* to be invisible Beings, endued with spiritual Powers, and living in the Air, and attending constantly upon particular Persons. and doing them much Good or Evil. ^u *They inflict*, says *Tertullian*, *upon Men's Bodies, Diseases ; and are the peculiar Authors of some Sorts of very grievous Mischances ; but as to the Soul, they are the Authors of Men's going suddenly and extraordinarily besides themselves. The Subtlety and Fineness of their Make enables them to enter into both the Body and Soul of Men.*—By Means of their being Spirits they have great Powers, so that they can act, though they are invisible and incapable of being felt ; and you must judge by the Effect

^u Corporibus quidem et valetudines infligunt, et aliquos casus acerbos ; animæ vero repentinos et extraordinarios per vim excessus. Suppetit illis ad utramque Substantiam hominis adeundam subtilitas et tenuitas sua. Multum spiritalibus viribus licet ut invisibiles et insensibiles in effectu potius quam in actu suo appareant. *Tertul. Apolog. c. 22.*

upon Men, rather than by their Act, which is insensible.

Having now a clear Account of what was meant by *Demons*, We may advance a Step further in our Enquiry ; and if it appears to be impossible to be proved, that *Neptune*, or *Mars*, or *Hecate*, &c. have such *Powers* as were usually imputed to them ; or if it can be proved, that many of the Heathen *Deities* to whom Distempers were attributed, were nothing but mere *imaginary* Beings, who never did in Fact exist at all ; then it follows, that in the former Case, no Evidence can be given, that those Demons to whom a Disease was imputed was really the Cause of it ; and in the latter Case, that that Being to whom the Distemper was attributed, was absolutely not the Cause. In both Cases, a *mere Hypothesis* is maintained ; and therefore if we meet with any Distemper imputed to Demons, or to the Gods, among the Antients, we have nothing to do but to examine what such Distemper is, what the Symptoms of it were, and how the Persons under it were affected ; since we know that whatever was the Cause, it was but an Hypothesis that the Gods were the Cause of it. And if we find that there is nothing in it but what may be the Effect of mere natural Disorder in an human

man Body, it is absurd to introduce ^w a Deity into the Affair. Thus. *e. g.*

The *Epilepsy* was imputed, as is evident from the Citation from *Hippocrates*, to *Ceres*, or *Apollo*, or *Mars*, or *Neptune*, or *Hecate*, &c. *Hippocrates* does not indeed attempt to prove that there were *no such Beings* as these; but he shews very judiciously, that in that Distemper, there was nothing but what might arise from *natural Causes*, without the Interposition of the Gods. And so if any one were now to confute the Notion of the God *Apollo's* causing the *Epilepsy*, he would shew with Ease, that *Apollo* was no God; that his pretended Power was what could not be proved; and consequently that He, who could not be proved to have Power, could not be proved to be the *Cause* of such or such Disorders. For though any one should contend that the Soul of *Apollo*, &c. *did exist* after his Death, yet it will not follow, that He had any *Power* over Mankind, or that He was the Cause of any Disorder upon Earth. Call therefore the *Epilepsy* the *Sacred Disease*, or the *Lues deifica*; yet these *Names* imply no more than the Hypothesis by which some attempted to account for the Disorder, and not the true and

^w Ὡς μὴκέτι τὸ θεῖον αἰτίον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. Hippocrates de Morbo sacro.

Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus. *Horat.*

proper Cause of it, which was no more than τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, something that was the Effect of mere natural Disorder in human Bodies, as *Hippocrates* has shewn. And so likewise when the *Romans* imputed to certain *Spirits* certain Disorders, The *Names* of such Disorders only implied their Philosophy, or Hypothesis; not the true Causes of the Distempers meant by those *Names*. e. g. Their *Cerriti* and *Larvati* had certain Disorders which they *supposed* to come from *Ceres*, or their *Lares*, or *Larvæ*. But yet if *Ceres* could not be proved to be the Cause; or if there be no *Larvæ*; or if there be, yet that they have no Power, or cannot be proved to have any; we may be sure that the *Name* implied no more than their Hypothesis, and not the true Cause of the Distemper.

But since it was customary to impute certain Distempers to the *Gods* or *Demons*, it will be worth while to examine what *particular Diseases* these were; because it is possible that hence we may gain *some* Light to the Subject we are enquiring into. The *Epilepsy*, as we have seen, was one Case which was deemed to owe its Rise to Them. The Accounts we have of the *Cerriti* and *Larvati* will likewise help us to another Sort of Disease, where the *Gods* were deemed concerned. To understand their Case, we need only to consider

der what *Plautus* has said in two or three Places.

Menæchmus in the Comedy pretends himself to be disordered in his Senses, and falls a *raving* very violently. Upon this, The *Old man* goes for a *Physitian*, and meeting with him, the *Physitian* asks him,

Quid esset illi morbi dixeras ? narra Senex.
Num *larvatus* aut *cerritus* ? fac sciam.

Presently they see *Menæchmus* ; and the *Physitian* puts certain Questions to him : Upon which the *Old man* observes that *Menæchmus*^x begins to be mad——he talks like one besides himself ; and asks the *Physitian*, why he would not instantly prescribe, or give him some *Potion*, before he was stark staring mad. The *Physitian* then asks *Menæchmus*, ^y are your Eyes wont to be stiff or hard ? do you sleep all Night ? can you sleep lying along ? Presently after, *Menæchmus* begins to scold at the *Old man* ;——Upon which,——^z Don't you see, says the *Old man*, that the Man is mad ? And the *Physitian*^a tells him,——I'll make

^x Occæptat insanire —— deliramenta loquitur.

Quid cessas dare potionis aliquid priusquam percipit *Insania*.

^y Solent tibi unquam oculi duri fieri ? —— Unquam intestina tibi crepant ? —— *Perdormiscin'* usque ad lucem ? facilen' tu dormis cubans.

^z Non vides hominem insanire ?

^a Elleborum potabis faxy aliquos viginti dies.

you drink Hellebore for some twenty Days. Before this *Physitian* was called, whilst the *Old man* and his *Daughter* were talking of *Menæchmus*, she describes him thus, ^b *Don't you see how his Eyes glare? How he looks yellow about his Temples and Forehead! How his Eyes sparkle!*

Here then we have the Symptoms and Cause of a Person whom the *Latins* call *Cerritus* or *Larvatus*; and these Effects they imputed to *Ceres*, or to the *Larvæ*, which they imagined to be mischievous and wicked Spirits: whereas in Truth the disordered Person had nothing else but such a Sort of *Madness*, as had the Symptoms abovementioned, and which the *Physitian* proposed to cure by *Hellebore*.

You have another Instance of the like Kind in *Plautus's Amphitruo*. *Amphitruo*, after a long Absence, comes Home to his Wife, and *Sofia* his Servant with him. *Jupiter* in the mean Time had put himself in the exact Shape of *Amphitruo*, and had lain with *Alcmena*. At length, *Amphitruo* coming Home to his Wife, a Discourse arises, and she says to him, ^c *Do you deny that you went from*

^b Viden' tu illi oculos virere! ut viridis colos
Ex temporibus atque fronte! ut oculi scintillant! —

Plaut. Menæch. Act. II. Sc. 2, 4, 5.

^c *Alc.* Tun' te abisse hodie hinc negas?

Am. Nego enimvero, et me advenire nunc primum aio ad te domum.

Alc. Obsecro, etiamne hoc negabis, te auream pateram mihi Dedisse dono hodie, —

Am. Neque ædipol dedi. —

bence this Day? Am. *I do deny it, and say that this is the very first Instant that I came to you.* Alc. *And will you deny that you gave me this very Day a golden Bowl?* Am. *No, I never gave you one.*——*Alcmena* persisting in what she said, *Sofia* advises *Amphitruo*, ^d *Pray order her to be lustrated, as (i. e. to be treated as they were wont to treat) a Mad woman.* *Amphitruo* replies, *Indeed it ought to be done, for in good Truth she is full of the Larvæ.* i. e. She is entirely possessed by the Larvæ.

It may not perhaps be easy to define exactly the Difference betwixt the *Cerriti* and *Larvati*. *Plautus* treats them as if they were the same, unless you make the *Cerritus* to be one that is *more mad*, and more outrageous, than the *Larvatus*; so much more so, as to be thought *Larvarum plenus*. This seems to be the Case, if one may judge from another Passage in *Plautus*, where some *Advocates* are introduced, *walking slow and grave*, and defending themselves for not *running* along the Streets, lest the People should throw Stones at them as *Cerriti*, i. e. quite mad.

——Haud quisquam nostrum currit per vias
Neque nos populus pro cerritis infectabit lapidibus.

Pæn. Act. III. Sc. 1.

^a ————— Quæso quin tu isthanc jubes
Pro cerrita circumferri. Am. Quin factum est opus;
Nam hæc quidem ædipol larvarum plena est.

Plaut. Amphitruo Act. II. Sc. 2.

D

But

But to return. See how some Lustrations were made in the ^e Margin. The Use of these Passages in *Plautus* to our Purpose is, that this Sort of *Madness*, whatever was the *Cause*, was imputed either to *Ceres*, or *Spirits*; and the Distemper was named from Them, as if They were the proper *Causes* of it: whereas in Truth, only certain *Symptoms* could be really expressed by those Terms, since it does not appear that there was any such Person existing as *Ceres*, nor any such *Spectres* as the *Larvæ*.

Apuleius, in his Book *De deo Socratis*, explains what the ordinary Notion concerning these *Larvæ* was. ^f *They were Spirits or Human Souls, who on Account of their Ill-deserts in Life, were punished as it were by a Sort of Banishment, by their having no good Place of Abode, but always rambling about, vain Terrors to Good men, but to Evil men noxious. Where therefore People, through the Force of any Distemper, were under such violent Fears and Horrors as to be not Masters of their Reason at all, there they were said to be Lar-*

^e Ἐκάθηρε, καὶ ἀπέμωζε, καὶ περίηgniζε δαδὶ καὶ σκίλλῃ καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσιν, (viz. Eggs and Brimstone, &c.) καὶ τὴν ἐπωδὴν ἐκείνην ὑποτονθορίσας. *Lucian. Necromant. v.* Casaubon in *Theophrastum.* p 292.

^f Propter adversa Vita merita, nullis bonis sedibus, incerta vagatione, seu quodam exilio punitur, inane Terriculamentum bonis hominibus, cæterum malis noxium, hunc plerique LARVAM perhibent. *Apuleius de Deo Socratis.*

vati: where it came to Outrage and direct *Madness*, they were deemed *Cerriti*. Now, in the same Manner, and in the same Propriety of Language, as disordered Persons among the *Romans* were called *Cerriti*, and *Larvati*, though their Disorders did not arise from *Ceres*, or *Larvæ*; Persons may be called *Demoniacks*, though *Demons* are not the Cause of their Distemper. Who ever imagines the Disorders of the *Cerriti* or *Larvati* to be owing to the *Mother of the Gods*, or to *Spectres*? Or when they are said to be *larvarum pleni*, that therefore they had *Legions of Spectres* in them?

There were likewise a Sort of Madmen, stiled by the *Romans*, *Lymphatici*; by the *Greeks*, *Νυμφοληπταί*; as there were those whom *Pliny* mentions to be ^g *Nocturnis Diis Faunisque agitati*: by all which they plainly meant nothing but certain Distempers; and to which certain *Medicines* were applied. Had they conceived real *Spirits* possessing such miserable Wretches, how absurd would it have been to have ordered for their Cure ^h *Rhadiſh* and *Ellebore* prepared in a certain Way; or ⁱ *Horse-piss*, and the *Water of a Smith's Forge*; ^k or the Tongue, Eyes, Gall,

^g *Pliny Nat. Hist. lib. xxv. c. 5.*

^h *Ibid. lib. xxviii. c. 16.*

ⁱ *Ibid. lib. xxix. c. 4.*

^k *Ibid. lib. xxx. c. 10.*

and Intestines of a Dragon ; or ¹ *the Blood of a Mole* ; ^m or *Diamonds* ; ⁿ or *Amber* ? Or on the contrary, how could they conceive that the drinking the Juice of a certain Herb, viz. ^o *Thalassegle*, could cause Men to be *possessed with Demons* ? Whatever the Word was by which they named this Disorder, (for this was a Disorder of the whole *Body*, as appears by *Pliny*) and notwithstanding the *Name* might imply that it arose from some invisible Beings, yet such a particular Species of *Disorder* is the only *thing* to be regarded in those Names.

From the *Greeks* and *Romans*, Let us next consider the *Jews*. Here we have no great Light one Way or other, except what we can derive from a single Instance in the Old Testament, and from a very few Places in *Josephus*, where he expressly mentions *Demoniacks*. The only Instance of a Disorder mentioned in the Old Testament as arising from an *evil Spirit*, is That of *Saul* : and this is expressly imputed to an *evil Spirit from God*, 1 Sam. xvi. 14—16. c. xviii. 10. The proper Way to judge of this Case is, to

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxx. c. 10. ^m Ibid. lib. xxxvii. c. 4.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. xxxvii. c. 3.

^o Thalasseglen circa Indum amnem inveniri, quæ ob id nomine alio Potamautis appellatur. Hac pota *Lymphari* homines, observantibus miraculis. Ibid. l. xxiv. c. 17. Nails taken out of a Grave, and fixed into a Threshold, were good against *nocturnas Lymphationes*. lib. xxxiv. c. 15.

lay together the Passages which relate to *Saul*, and from them to see how he was affected. *The Spirit of the Lord went away from Saul, and an Evil Spirit from the Lord troubled, or terrified him. And Saul's Servants said unto him,——an Evil Spirit from God troubleth thee. Let our Lord now command thy Servants——to seek out a Man who is a cunning Player on an Harp, And it shall come to pass, when the evil Spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his Hand, and thou shalt be well.* This Advice was taken, and *David* was thought of, and brought to the King; *And it came to pass when the Spirit of God was in [or at or upon] Saul, David took an Harp, and played with his Hand, and Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the Evil Spirit departed from him, v. 23.* This is the first Place where this Disorder is mentioned: The second has in it an Account of *Saul's* Conduct towards *David*. When *Goliath* was slain, and the *Philistines* routed, The Women came out with Instruments of Music to meet *Saul*, and as they played, they said, *Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands. And Saul was very wroth, and the Saying displeased him, and he said, They have ascribed unto David ten thousands, and to me they have ascribed but thousands: and what can he have more, but the Kingdom? And Saul eyed David from that Day.——And*
it

it came to pass on the morrow, that the Evil Spirit from God came upon Saul, and he prophesied in the midst of the House. And David played with his Hand as at other Times. And Saul cast the Javelin at David—and David avoided out of his Presence twice, 1 Sam. xviii. 7---12. and c. xix. 9, 10, 11.

From these Places these Things may be observed. 1st, That we have no Circumstances how this *Evil Spirit* affected *Saul*, excepting only that he was *troubled*, or *terrified* very much; and that he *prophesied* in the midst of his House. What is here called *Prophefying*, was acting as a mad man, acting as the *Vates* or Prophets are usually described by the Antients. *Saul* was not inspired as the true Prophets of God were influenced, in a rational Manner, nor indeed at all; but as appears by the History, his Mind was alienated, and his Imagination disturbed. This was the usual Disorder, either real or pretended, of the Heathen Prophets; who are seldom or never mentioned as prophefying, but with Circumstances of Rage, and Fury, and Madness. 'The true prophetic Spirit is rational and consistent: the false one is all tumultuous and mad. It is observable therefore, that the *Chaldee Paraphrast* says that *Saul was mad*, or *acted as a Mad man* in his House: and it is probable, that from some Similitude
of

of Circumstances that careless and prophane Men treated the best and truest Prophets as false ones, *imputing* that to *Phrensy*, or *Melancholy*, which in Truth proceeded from a divine Afflatus. Hence it was, that when *Elisha* sent a Prophet to anoint *Jehu*, *Abab's* Servants said to *Jehu*, *Wherefore came this mad Fellow to thee?* 2 King. ix. 11, And *Jeremiah* has joined together the Idea of *Madness* to that of *Prophecy*, c. xxix. 26. *For every Man that is mad, and maketh himself a Prophet.*

There certainly must be something in the true Prophet common to him with the false Prophet, from whence this Notion must arise, that *Madness* and *Prophefying* should be used by very good Writers as synonomous. One cannot but observe that *Tully* has used the Words, *Vaticinari*, and *Insanire*, as signifying much the same thing. And whenever the Poets speak of *Prophets*, it is always of Persons under an Alienation of Mind. The *Sibyl* in *Virgil* is described as under violent *Agitations*, and *foaming*, and *raging*. *Lu-*

^p Eos qui dicerent, dignitati esse serviendum, reip. consulendum, officii rationem in omni vita, non commodi, esse ducendam, subeunda pro patria pericula, vulnera excipienda, mortem oppetendam; *vaticinari* atque *insanire* dicebat. *Cic. Orat. pro Sextio.*

^q At Phœbi nondum patiens, immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
 Excussisse Deum, tanto magis ille fatigat
 Os rabidum, fera corda domans—

Virg. Æneis. 6. 77—80.

can

can in the same Manner describes a Priestess as filled with Fury, her Hair standing an End, and she all burning within, and foaming, and panting, whilst she delivered the Oracle. And *Euripides* observes, ^r that Madness has a good deal of a prophetick Faculty in it: and that Mad men could foretell future Things. It is probable that this Notion arose from hence, that when the true Prophet received the divine Influx, his *Senses were as it were thrown asleep, and ceased*; and his Mind so taken up, that he attended to nothing else but what was revealed. Thus ^t *Abartenel* says from *Maimonides*, and probably very justly. Hence came false Prophets to affect a like Absence of their Faculties: and as this was common amongst such as were mad with a ^{*} divine Influx, or Inspiration, hence Persons, who by Reason of a na-

^r ——— *Bacchatur demens aliena per antrum
Colla ferens, vittasque Dei, Phœbeaque ferta
Erectis discussa comis*———

——— *Magnoque exæstuat igne.*

*Spumea tunc primum rabies vesana perora
Effluit, et gemitus, et anhelio clara meatu,
Murmura.*———

Lucan. Lib. 5.

^r Τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει

Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἔλθῃ πολὺς

λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τὰς μεμνηνότας ποιεῖ.

Eurip. Bacch.

^t A tempore Prophetiæ, Facultates Prophetæ sunt obsopitæ, sensus ejus cessant, et anima occupata est in apprehensione sua, indicatque hominibus quid viderit, vel audiverit, sine ulla operatione voluntatis et arbitrii ejus proprii circa id quod videt vel prophetat. *Vid. Lib. Cozri. p. 413.*

^u Θεὸς πνοαῖσι ἐμμανεῖς. *Eurip. Bacch.*

tural

tural Disorder, Phrensy, Melancholy, &c. were alienated in their Minds, were said to *prophecy*. It will appear presently what *Saul's* Distemper was; and this Circumstance of his *Prophefying*, or acting as a *mad* Man, will be a considerable Argument in Point. I observe 2dly, The Cure of him was by a known Method. *Let thy Servants seek out a cunning Player on a Harp — And he shall play with his Hand, and thou shalt be well.* 3dly, The Cure was to be effected, and it was constantly effected, by *Musick* and by *That alone*. Had it been to be cured by Prayer, or any thing that was *devotional*, *Saul's* Servants, would have desired a *Prophet*, or a *Priest*, not a *Musician*, to be sent for. 4thly, When *David* played upon the *Harp*, *Saul* was *refreshed*, and was well, and the *Evil Spirit* departed from him. When therefore the *Evil Spirit* was upon him, *Saul* was in a State opposite to what is here called *Refreshment*, and being well. Now the original Word ^w signifies to *Breathe*, or draw one's Breath comfortably and well. The *Septuagint* translate the Verse thus, 1 Sam. xvi. 14, *An Evil Spirit from the Lord* * suffocated him: And when *David* played, he *refreshed* him. And *Josephus* tells

^w ΠΙΠ *respirare, relaxationi esse, Motum vel agitationem includit, says Mercer.*

^x Ἐπνίχεν αὐτὸν.

us, & that grievous Disorders proceeding from Demons, attended Saul, which often were ready to suffocate and strangle him, so that the Physicians could think of no other Cure for him but this, that when the Demons came to him and disturbed him, One should stand at his Head and sing. 5thly, When the Evil Spirit was upon Saul, i. e. when he was in the Disorder which thus affected him, when in Josephus's Language, ^z the Demon disturbed and troubled him, it was then that Saul attempted to kill David. The Women with their Songs had made Saul look upon David with an Evil Eye; they had raised his ^a Envy and Hatred; and these Passions, joined to the Distemper he had, made him mischievous, and twice strive to murder David with his own Hand. 6thly, From the Cure proposed, it is evident that this Evil Spirit from the Lord was some natural Distemper. For what Relation has the Sound of a Harp to the Expulsion of Spirits? What makes them so much afraid of Musick as to leave the Body they had

^γ Σάκλον δε. περιήρχετο πάθη δεινά κ' δαιμόνια, πνιγνύς αὐτῷ κ' τραγέλας ἐπιφέροντα. — ὁπάταν αὐτῷ προσὶν τὰ δαιμόνια κ' τὰ ράτλιοι, ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐσάντα ψάλλειν. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 6. c. 10.

^z Τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐθορύβει κ' συνετάραττε. Ibid. c. 14.

^a Φθόνον κ' μῦσιν. Ibid. c. 11.

And when Jonathan interceded with Saul for David, Σὺς πονηρὸς πνεύματι κ' τῶν δαιμονίων ἐγκαθεζομένων τὰ μὲν ἐξέβαλεν. Ibid. Lib. 6. c. 13.

possessed, upon hearing the Sound of *Harmony*? Or why do they fly from *exact* and good Musick, more than from inharmonious jarring Discords? For from the History it appears that a *skilful* Musitian was required to cure the King's Disorder. From whence I cannot but infer, 7thly, That we are not to be influenced by the mere Words, *an Evil Spirit*, to imagine that some wicked Being entered *Saul's* Body, and caused those *grievous Disorders* which he laboured under, any more than we can infer in the Instances of the *Cerriti* and *Larvati* before mentioned, that they were under the Influence of *Ceres* or the *Larvæ*. 8thly, From the Circumstances of *Saul's* Case, viz. being *terrified much*; being *refreshed* by Musick, and thence *growing well*; from the Disorders being not perpetual upon him, but returning at Times; and if we take in from the LXX and *Josephus*, his being ready to be *strangled* or *suffocated*;—From these Circumstances, I say, his Case seems to be nothing but deep *Melancholy*. It is one of *Hippocrates's* Aphorisms, ^b *where Fear or Sadness continue long, it is a Sign of Melancholy*. The Returns of this Distemper are usual ^c in *Spring* and *Autumn*, says *Hippocrates*. The Symp-

^b Ἦν φόβος ἢ δυσθυμία πᾶν χρόνον ἀτελέη μελαγχολικὸν τοιοῦτον.

^c Τῷ μὲν ἤρᾳ τὰ μανικά καὶ τὰ μελαγχολικά—Τῷ δὲ φθινοπώρῃ καὶ τὰ μανικά καὶ τὰ μελαγχολικά. Aphoris.

toms of it are, as Sydenham well observes, these——*They yield themselves up a Prey to Anger, Jealousy, Suspicion, &c.——Now they love one to Excess, and instantly they hate the same Person as immoderately. They resolve in one Instant to execute some Design, and in the next, they make another and perhaps contrary Resolution. It sometimes produces dreadful Convulsions, resembling the Epilepsy, the Belly and Entrails swelling upwards towards the Throat, &c.* Let me add in the Last Place, that the Antients were wont to apply *Musick* to the Cure of Distempers, and in particular thought it an excellent Remedy against this very Disorder. *Theophrastus*, in his Book of *Enthusiasm*, tells us, that *“Musick cures many Disorders of both Soul and Body, e. g. Faintings, FEARS, long continued Disorders of Mind. The Playing upon the Pipe cures the Sciatica, and Epilepsy. And Martianus Capella has a great deal to this Purpose in his 9th Book: where he introduces Musick as saying what she had done, “I have cured*

^d Μουσικὴν πολλὰ τῶν περὶ ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα γιγνομένων παθῶν ἰατρῆειν καθάπερ λεπτοθυρίαν, ΦΟΒΟΥΣ, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ μακρὸν γιγνομένας τῆς Διανοίας ἐκστάσεις. ἰᾶται γὰρ ἡ καταύλησις ἰαχιάδα καὶ ἐπιληψίαν. Theophrastus apud Apollonium. c. 48.

^e Perturbationibus animorum, corporeisque morbis, medicabile crebrius carmen insonui. Nam Phreneticos Symphonia curavi.——Febrem curabant vulneraque veteres cantione. Asclepiades item, Tuba surdissimis medebatur. Ad affectiones animi
tibias

*cured Madmen by Symphony.——The Anti-
ents cured the Fever and Wounds by singing.
Asclepiades cured the very deafest by a Trum-
pet, and madmen by Symphony. Theo-
phrastus applied Pipes to the Affections of the
Mind.——Xenocrates freed those that were
troubled with Spirits by instrumental Musick,
&c.*

Saul's Evil Spirit then does not signify the real proper Cause of his Disorder, since it appears that his was nothing else but natural *Melancholy*, which soft Accents and melodious Sounds were wont constantly and regularly to assuage. What Connection is there betwixt the Sound of a musical Instrument, and Devils or Evil Spirits? How could those about *Saul* think of *Musick*, to expel a *Spirit*? Whereas supposing his Distemper the Effect of Matter and Motion, and like other Distempers, it was natural to have Recourse to the then usual Means of curing them, and accordingly they succeeded. For can any thing be more natural than to procure a *skilful Musitian* to divert *Melancholy*? And will not such a one *always comfort and refresh* the Patient, and make him *well*? The LXX and

tibias Theophrastus adhibebat.——Xenocrates organicis modulis lymphaticos liberabat. Martia. Capella. Lib. 9.

Censorinus says, *Asclepiades medicis phreneticorum mentes, morbo turbatas, sæpe per Symphoniam suæ naturæ reddidit. c. 12. de die natali.*

Josephus

Josephus have added Circumstances which are very common in *Hypochondriacal* Cases, I mean his being *suffocated* when the Evil Spirit was upon him. And this may help us to conceive what *they* imagined to be his Case, and what exactly answers in every Circumstance. And though they all agree in the Word *Spirit*, yet still the Thing was no more than *natural Disorder*. Accordingly *Maimonides* observes, that the Jews ^f call every Sort of Melancholy an Evil Spirit: and explains *Evil Spirit*, by *Disease*.

We meet with nothing of *Demoniacks*, excepting the Case of *Saul*, in the Old Testament. But yet *Josephus*, (who professes a strict Regard to the Sacred Writings,) mentions certain *Charms* which *Solomon* left behind him, by which they could ^g cure *Diseases*, and so expel *Demons*, that they should no more return: and this Manner of Cure, says he, continues amongst us even to this Day. Upon this he relates a remarkable Story upon his own Knowledge, of one *Eleazar's* casting out Demons in the Presence of *Vespasian*, and his Sons, and Officers, and Abundance of Soldiers.

^f Rambanus. Omne genus Melancholiæ vocant Spiritum malum. Atque alibi; Spiritus Malus, i. e. Marbus. Lightfoot Hor. Heb. in Luc. c. 13. 11.

^g Πάρεχε αὐτῷ (Σολομῶνι) μαθεῖν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην. — Ἐπαδὺς τε συντάξαμθ' αἷς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα, καὶ τρόπος ἐξορκάσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς ἐνδεμῶς τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μὴκέτι ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώκεται.

The Story, and the Manner of Cure, was thus. *Applying a Ring having a certain Root under the Seal; viz. one of those Roots that Solomon taught the Virtues of, He drew out the Devil through the Nose of him that smelt it: and presently the Man falling down, he mentioning Solomon, and reciting the Charms which he had invented, adjured the Devil never to return into him. Eleazar being willing to satisfy the By-standers that he had this Power, he placed a little Way from them a Cup full of Water, or a little Vessel that they washed their Feet in: and then he commanded the Devil as he went out of the Man to overturn that Vessel, and thus make the Spectators sensible, that he had left the Man. This is the Account of a Demoniack in Josephus's Days, dispossessed by this Eleazar. The Root which did this wondrous Feat, is that, I suppose, which he mentions in the Seventh Book of the Jewish Wars, the Story of which is still more ridiculous than the Account of pulling out the Demon through the Nose of the Person that was possessed.*

ἢ Προσφέρων ταῖς ρισὶ τῷ δαιμονιζομένῳ τὸν δακτύλιον ἔχοντα ὑπὸ τῇ σφραγίδι ρίζαν ——— ἔπειτα ἐξεῖλκεν ὁσφραινομένα. Διὰ τῶν μυκτῆρων τὸ δαιμόνιον. καὶ πεσόντῳ εὐθὺς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, μηκέτ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπαλθεῖν ἄρκε. ——— βεβλόμην δὲ πεῖσαι ——— ὅτι ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἰσχὺν, ἐτίθει μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ποτήριον πλήρες ὕδατος, ἢ ποδὸνιπτρον, καὶ τῷ δαιμονίῳ προσέτατ' ἐξίοντι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ταῦτ' ἀνατρέψαι, καὶ παραχρῆν ἐπιγινῶναι τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ὅτι καταλέλοιπε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 8. c. 2.

However

However I'll relate it since it concerns *Demons*. “ⁱ There is a Valley on the North of
 “ *Machærus*, in which is a Place called *Ba-*
 “ *ras*, which bears a Root of the same Name :
 “ It is of a flame Colour, and about Evening
 “ time it shines very bright. It is not easily
 “ caught by them that would willingly ga-
 “ ther it ; but it withdraws itself, and does
 “ not stay, unless one pours the Urine of a Wo-
 “ man, or menstruous Blood upon it. And
 “ even then it is certain Death to them that
 “ touch it, unless you happen to carry the
 “ Root itself hanging down from your Hand.
 “ There is another Way of getting this Root
 “ free from Danger, and it is this. They
 “ dig quite round it, so that the very least
 “ bit of the Root is left in the Ground :
 “ then they tye a Dog to it, and the Dog at-

ⁱ Βαάρας ὀνομάζεται τις τόπος, φύει τε ρίζαν ὀμανύμως λεγομένην αὐτῇ. αὕτη φλογὶ μὲν τὴν χροίαν ἔοικε. περὶ δὲ τὰς ἐσπέραις σέλας ἀπασφράπτεισα· τοῖς δ' ἐπίσσι καὶ βουλομένοις λαβεῖν αὐτήν, ὅση ἐστὶν εὐχείρωται, ἀλλ' ὑποφύγει, καὶ ὅ πρότερον ἴσεται πρὶν ἂν τις ἔρον γυναικὸς, ἢ το ἔμμηνον αἷμα χεῖ κατ' αὐτῆς. Ὅυ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῖς ἀψαμένοις πρόδηλός ἐστι θάνατος. εἰ μὴ τύχη τις αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐπενεγκάμενη τὴν ρίζαν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἀπηρημένην. ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερον τρόπον ἀκινδύνως, ὅς ἐστι τοιόσδε. κύκλῳ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν περιούρυσσιν, ὥς εἶναι το κρυπτόμενον τῆς ρίζης βραχύτατον. εἴτ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀποδύσιν κύναν, κακεῖνς τὰ δῆσαντι συνακολυθεῖν ὀρμήσαντες, ἡ μὲν ἀποσπᾶται ραδίως. θνήσκει δ' εὐθύς ὁ κύων, ὥσπερ ἀντιδοθεὶς τῷ μέλλοντι τὴν βοτάνην ἀναιρήσασθαι. φόβος γὰρ ἔδδεις τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα λαμβάνουσιν. Ἐστὶ δὲ μὲν τούτων κινδύνον ἀλλὰ μίαν ἰχθὺν περισπένδουσιν. τα γὰρ καλέμεθα δαιμόνια, ταῦτα δὲ πονηρῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα, τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδύομενα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς βοηθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντας, αὐτὴ ταχέως ἐξελαύνει, καὶ προσπενεχθῇ μόνον τοῖς νοσῶσι, *Josep. de Bell Judaic. Lib. 7. c. 23.*

“ tempting

“ tempting to follow him that tied him, the
 “ Root is easily pulled up. But then the
 “ Dog dies instantly, as it were in the Stead
 “ of him who would get the Plant.* There
 “ is no Fear to them who shall afterwards
 “ take it. This Root is very desirèable for
 “ one Virtue it has, notwithstanding so many
 “ Dangers in getting it. For DEMONS as
 “ they are called, (these are the Spirits of
 “ wicked Men) entering into the Living, and
 “ killing those that have no Help, this Root
 “ presently expels them, even though it be
 “ only brought near those that are ill.”

How ridiculous soever these Stories are,
 both that of *Eleazar*, and this of the *Root*
Baaras, yet *Josephus* plainly thought that
 there were properly *Demoniacks*, or Persons
 into whom the *Souls of wicked Men entered*.
 He gives us no Symptoms of the Disorders
 these Men had: but only that they were *kil-*
led if they had not Help, and that *Eleazar*
 pulled out the *Demon through the Nose* of the
 Person to whom he applied this Root. I can-
 not but think *Josephus's* *Demoniacks* to be the
 same with the *Cerritus* of *Serenus Samonicus*,
 whom ¹ *dreadful Smells* would often cure.

* So the Cynocephale, or Oxyritis in Egypt, is present Death
 to him that pulls it up, and is excellent good against all Witch-
 craft. *Plin.* lib. xxx. c. 2.

¹ *Cerritum sæpe horrendi medicantur Odores.* *Seren. Samon.*

Serenus is speaking of a Case where through^m *some Fault of the Brain a raving Madness* arose : and as the *Cerriti* were *Mad men*, and cured by *strong Smells*, just as *Josephus's* *Demoniacs*, it is very probable they were Both under the same Sort of Disorders. It will always be asked, How *Josephus* knew, that these Persons had in them the *Souls of wicked Men* deceased? How he knew, that these *wicked Spirits* killed Men? What has the Smell of a Root do with wicked Spirits? Or how can that *expel* them? To say, that he *saw the Fact* done ; and to add that he saw the Demon *overturn a Basin of Water*, at his going out of a Man, is only affirming one incredible Thing in order to prove another. For what Evidence is there that this was done by a Demon? It is agreed that the Philosophers of Old talked much of these *Spirits*, or *Demons* ; but how did they know that these *Demons* were the *Spirits of Evil Men*? He might say perhaps, because the Person that was disordered, was *agitated*, and *thrown down*, and *suffered much Mischief*. But these Effects might have nothing more in them than what was natural and ordinary, as I have already shewn. Leaving therefore these Instances of *Jewish Exorcists*, and the *Charms* which *Solomon* is said to have left, Those idle romantick Tales of *Josephus*, which shew how easily he

^m Ex vitio Cerebri Phrenesis furiosa movetur
Amiffasque refert frendens amentia vires.

was imposed on himself, or how ready he was to impose on others ;

I proceed in the next Place to consider what the *New Testament* Writers have said upon the Subject of *Demoniacs*. And in order to shew what was meant, we must compare the several Relations together ; and when we meet with *plain* and *easy* Accounts of things, we must make them the Standards or Tests by which we ought to understand the more difficult Places ; and not *viæ versa*, interpret *easy* Texts by those which are *intricate* and *hard*. It must be remembered likewise, that *Demon* in none of the Instances already produced, signifies what we in *English* call *Devil*, but always is applied to the departed *Souls* of *Dead Men*. And lastly, that *Epilepsy* and *Madness* were the peculiar Disorders attributed to the Gods.

These Things being already proved, it is necessary to observe, that when our Saviour began to preach, he *went about all Galilee, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, and healing all Manner of Sickness, and all Manner of Disease among the People, and his FAME went throughout Syria ; and there followed him great Multitudes of People from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and*

ⁿ Ταῦτα ποιησὼν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα. Joseph. Ψυχὰς δὲ πολλὰς ἐκόντων. Just. Mart. 2 Apol.

from Judea, and from beyond Jordan, *Matt. iv. 23—25.* From hence it appears that *He* was much *known*; and that the Doctrines he preached were likewise *known*; and what he was imagined to be, was well known in all those Parts. This was so notorious, that *they brought unto him all sick People that were taken with divers Diseases and Torments; and those which were possessed with Devils [Demons] and those which were Lunatic, and those which had the Palsy.* Perhaps this might better be translated, *even those who were possessed, &c.* for these are the particular and eminent Instances of Persons who had *Diseases and Torments.* What these Persons *possessed with Devils [or Demons]* were, is now to be considered.

St. *John, c. x. 20,* gives us an Account of a Controversy amongst the Jews on Occasion of some Things which our Saviour had said. In this Debate, *many said he hath a Devil, and is mad. Others said, these are not the Words of him that hath a Devil: can a Devil open the Eyes of the blind? Madness* is here imputed to our Saviour; and the imaginary Cause is, *he hath a Devil.* These were so connected together in their Minds, that *Both Sides* reasoned in the same Manner: and *both Sides* took for granted that that particular Disorder proceeded from some *Evil Spirit* that possessed him. They therefore that
thought

thought he spoke the Words of Sobriety, replied, can he that is under the Influence of a *wicked Spirit*, i. e. a Mad man, either *say* or *do* such Things as this Man does?

It is exactly in the same Sense that the Jews answered our Saviour, *John* vii. 20, when he charged them with going about to kill him,—They *said*, *Thou hast a Devil*. The Meaning of which was—*Thou art mad, who goeth about to kill thee?* He charged them with an Act which they disclaimed; and they immediately replied, that he had a *Devil*; using the Cause, the imaginary Cause, for a visible Effect, which they conceived naturally to flow from it.

Again; when John *came neither eating nor drinking*, they *say*, *He hath a Devil*, *Matt.* xi. 18. i. e. When he appeared in that austere rigid Manner, living in the Wilderness, and preaching strict Repentance as he did, and using severe Mortification, they looked upon him to be *mad*. To name one Instance more.

Our Saviour having told the Jews, *John* viii. 48—52, that they were *not of God*, they said unto him, *Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a Devil?* Jesus answered, *I have not a Devil, but I honour my Father,—If a Man keep my Saying, he shall never see Death.* Then said the Jews unto him, now we know, that thou hast a Devil. Abraham is dead, and the Prophets, and thou sayest, *If a Man keep*

keep my Saying, he shall never tast of Death.
 The Meaning of all this is very plain: “ Do
 “ we not say very justly, that you treat us
 “ just as the Samaritans do, with Rancour
 “ and Malice; and that you are really *mad*.”
 He replies, “ I am not *mad*, but know what
 “ I say and mean; my Design is to honour
 “ my Father, and with a View of promoting
 “ this good Design I tell you, He that obeys
 “ what I say *shall live for ever*.” They in-
 stantly reply, “ Now it is evident you are
 “ *mad*: *Abraham* is dead, and the Prophets;
 “ and yet you tell us that he that obeys your
 “ Doctrines shall *live for ever*: *Whom makest*
thou thy self? ”

Had not St. *John*, in the Passage first ci-
 ted, explained so particularly what was meant
 by *having a Devil*, (or *Demon*, for so it is al-
 ways to be read) we should probably have un-
 derstood these Places of *Madness*, or of a disor-
 dered Understanding: Because so many Instan-
 ces might be produced out of heathen Authors,
 where those who were called *Cerriti* or *Lar-*
vati, or *Lymphatici*, and were supposed to be
 affected by, or to be under the Direction or
 Influence of *Demons*, were all in their Degree
mad. But as the Words are explained in the
 Gospel itself, it is easy to see upon what
Grounds the Jews said to our Saviour,
Thou hast a Devil. They had neither *seen*
 nor *heard* any *Demon* in him, nor in *John the*
Baptist;

Baptist; and yet instantly they charge them with *having* one. Whence did this proceed? Or why do they say a *Devil*, rather than any thing else? They saw indeed, what they thought to be *Madness*, and nothing else. From this visible *Effect* then they presently imagined a *Demon* (or *Devil*) to be the *Cause*, and therefore charged him with what they did *not see*, arguing from the *Effect* to the *Cause*. And therefore when *Josephus*, or *Others*, call such or such Persons *Demoniacks*, they may do it merely from certain Symptoms of which they supposed *Demons* to be the *Cause*, though no Evidence of such *Demons* appeared. And indeed it was customary for the Jews to attribute to Evil Spirits certain great Disorders, which either distorted the Body, or occasioned Phrensy, or Distraction of the Mind: as Dr. Lightfoot has well observed.^o

The Passages already produced, which make the *having a Devil* and *Madness* to be the same thing, will help us to understand some others, which at first Sight may appear more intricate. Thus for Instance; in St. Matthew, c. xvii. 15, there came a certain Man to our Lord, who kneeled down and said, Lord have Mercy upon my Son, for he is lunatick, and

^o Judæis usitatissimum erat morbos quosdam graviores, eos præsertim quibus vel distortum est corpus, vel mens turbata, et agitata Phrenesi, malis Spiritibus attribuere. Lightfoot Hor. Heb. Matt. xvii. 15.

fore vexed: *for oft-times he falleth into the Fire, and oft into the Water.* The other Evangelists give us a more particular Account of this young Man's Case. *St. Mark, c. ix. 17, 18, makes the Man to say to our Saviour,——I have brought unto thee my Son, which hath a dumb Spirit; and wheresoever he taketh him, he teareth him, and he foameth, and gnasheth with his Teeth, and pineth away.* When the young Man was brought to our Lord, *v. 20, the Spirit tare him, and he fell on the Ground, and wallowed, foaming.* In *St. Luke*, the Case is represented thus, *c. ix. 39. A Spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out, [or shrieks] and it teareth him that he foameth again, and bruising him, hardly departeth from him.* This Man was plainly, what *Justin Martyr* describes those which were ^p seized by Demons to be, ^q thrown upon the Ground; and he is plainly a *Demoniac*, for in curing him *Jesus rebuked the Devil, Matt. xvii. 18.* From the Symptoms he had——*falling into the Fire, or Water, tearing himself, gnashing with his Teeth, foaming, wallowing on the Ground, being bruised, and then the Fit leaving him, his Case was Epileptick.* *Celsus* observes of such Persons, ^r *The*

^p Δαιμονιόληπτοι, ψυχαῖς ἀποθανόντων λαμβανόμενοι. *Just. Mart.*

^q ῥιπτάμενοι. *Ibid. Apol. 2.*

^r Homo subito concidit, ex ore Spumæ moventur,——hominem consumit. *Celsus Lib. 3. c. 23.*

Man all of a sudden he falls down, foams at the Mouth, and when the Distemper is new upon him, it makes him pine away. Hippocrates has given us the Symptoms of the Epilepsy more accurately. ^t“ He becomes incapable of speaking, “ and is suffocated, and Foam runs out of the “ Mouth, his Teeth gnash, the Hands are “ close shut, the Eyes are distorted, they under- “ stand nothing:—he falls down, he kicks with “ his Feet.” After this particular Account of the Symptoms, he explains the natural Cause of each; and says ^t*Thus is this Distemper to young People; He adds, “ When the Disorder is of long standing, it is not curable. This is a direct Exposition of the Case before us, and shews the Man to be plainly Epileptick.*

You will say perhaps then, that *Madness* is not the same as *having a Devil*, but *Epilepsy*, which is a different Distemper. But the Circumstances will clear up this Point. As

1st, It is observed that this Distemper had been *long upon him*. *How long*, says our Saviour, *is it ago since this came unto him? And he said, Of a Child, Mark ix. 21.* *2dly*, I

^t Ἄφρων γίνεται, καὶ ἀφρὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐκρέει, καὶ οἱ ὀδόντες συνήρκασι, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες συσπῶνται, καὶ τὰ ὄμματα ἀγαστρέφονται, καὶ οὐδὲν φρονέουσι — πρὸς πίπτει — λακτίζει τοῖσι πόσιν. De morbo sacro.

^t Τοῖσι μὲν ἐν παιδίοισιν ἔτι γίνεται. Ibid.

^u Ὁκότεν ὁ χρόνος γίνεται τῇ νόσῳ, οὐκ ἔτι ἰσχυρὸς γίνεται. Ibid.

must observe from *Hippocrates*, ^v *Melancholick Persons are very often wont to be Epileptick, and Epileptick Persons Melancholick. Each of these Distempers prevail, as the Disorder inclines to either Body or Mind: If to the Body, they are Epileptick; if to the Mind, they are Melancholick.* 3dly, It must be added from the same Author, that where the Epilepsy ^x *has grown up with a Person from his Childhood, (as was the express Case of the Person before us) the Cure is very difficult.* 4thly, *St. Matthew expressly calls him a Lunatic. He is Lunatic and sore vexed.* 5thly, I cannot but observe, that *Alexander Trallianus* gives us an Account of a Cure of the Epilepsy, which he learnt in *Hetruria* from a Countryman, who cutting, says he, wild Rue in a Field, his Fellow Servant *σεληνιακὸς ὢν, ἐπεσεν*, being a Lunatic, was seized with a Fit of Epilepsy. *Alex. Trall. Lib. 1.* Exactly in *St. Matthew's* Language.

These Things being considered, it appears that this Young man was *Epileptic*: His *Epilepsy* had brought him to be *Melancholick*, which is the natural Turn of the Distemper; and his *Melancholy* had made him *mad*.

^w Οἱ μελαγχολικοὶ καὶ ἐπιληπτικοὶ εἰώθασιν γίνεσθαι ὡς ἐπιτοπολὺν, καὶ οἱ ἐπιληπτικοὶ μελαγχολικοί. Τῶν δὲ ἐκάτερον μᾶλλον γίνεται· ἐφ' ὅποτερον ἀν' ῥέυσῃ τῷ τὸ ἀρρώγημα: Ἦν μὲν ἐς τὸ σῶμα, ἐπιληπτοί; καὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν μελαγχολικοί. *Hippoc. de Morbis popular. Lib. 6.*

^x Ὅταν ἀπὸ παιδὸς συνήζεται — ἀπάλλαξις καλεπὴ γίνεται.

From hence St. *Matthew*, in his Account, expressly calls him *Lunatic*. The other Two Evangelists take Notice, the One of the *dumb Spirit* which he had, the Other, of the *Spirit*, but say not a Word of his *Madness*, which was implied in the Term, *Spirit*: And then they describe at large the Symptoms of the *Epilepsy*. St. *Matthew* describes the *Epileptic* Fits, as soon as he had said that the Young man was *Lunatic*: The two other Evangelists describe the *Epileptic* Fits, as soon as they had said that he had a *Spirit*, or a *dumb Spirit*. Therefore *Lunatic* and *Demoniack*, or having a *Spirit*, or a *Devil*, must be the same.

I am sensible how difficult it is to account for every Expression on these Occasions, where we often know not the exact Ideas to which some particular Words were applied. We must be often left to Uncertainty and Conjecture, and he that guesses, not irrationally, ought to be excused if he varies from common Sentiments, when common Sentiments are not at all intelligible. In the Process of the History of this Young man, it appears that the Disciples of our Lord could not cure him. The Father of him tells our Saviour, — *I spake to thy Disciples that they should cast him out, and they could not*, Mark ix. 18. or as St. *Matthew* has it, *I brought him to thy Disciples, and they could not cure him*. Our

Saviour curing him *so easily*, his Disciples afterwards asked him *privately*, or *apart*, *Why could not we cast him out?* His Answer, as it lies in *St. Mark*, is only thus—*This Kind can come forth by nothing, but by Prayer and Fasting*, c. ix. 29. But in *St. Matthew*, the Answer is much larger and fuller, and from thence perhaps we may be able to conjecture at the Meaning of these Words. *Jesus said unto them*, because of your Unbelief. *For verily I say unto you*, if ye have Faith as a Grain of Mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this Mountain, Remove hence unto yonder Place, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible for you. *Howbeit*, this Kind goeth not out but by Prayer and Fasting. I observed before, that this was an *Epileptick* Case; and it was an *Epileptick* Disorder of long standing: and consequently either *incurable*, or *very hard to be cured* by any Means of Art. The Determination of the Old Physitians is, *That neither Broths, nor even Meats that are light and easy of Digestion, nor Flesh of any Sort, and particularly Hog's Flesh, is not good for this Sort of People. You are not to give such any Food at all till the third Day after the*

y Cibum post diem tertium — dare. Neque forbitiones his aut alioqui molles et faciles cibi, neque caro, minimeque suilla convenit, — et ubi tertio die cibus datus est intermittere quartum, et invicem alterum quemque — donec quatuordecim dies transeant. *Celsus* Lib. 3. c. 23.

Fit;

Fit ; and when he has taken some Sufenance on the third Day, you must leave it off the fourth, and fo on every other Day,——till fourteen Days are past. When great Exercife is prefcribed, yet ftill the Rule is " Let him have but little Victuals ; or let him abftain altogether from Flefh.

I know not whether this may help us to folve the prefent Difficulty. The Difciples ask, why they could not *cure* this young man. Our Saviour's Anfwer to them is, "*Because of your Unbelief.* For had you Faith equal to the Advantages you have, you fhould be able to do the moft difficult Things, nay nothing which is neceffary to gain Credit to your Authority or Doctrines, fhall be impoffible." This contains a full Anfwer to their Queftion : and what follows, about the Neceffity of *Fafting* and *Prayer*, may not re-

^z Paulum cibi affumat. Ibid.

Κρεῶν πάντελῶς καλόν ἐστιν ἀπέχεσθαι —— ὀλίγον λαμβανέτω, καὶ ὀλιγάκις. *It is good to abftain from Flefh entirely. But if he defires fome——let him take but little, and feldom. Again. Τα δὲ κρέα παραιτεῖσθαι μεχρὶ τελείας ἀπαλλαγῆς. He ought to abftain from Flefh till he is quite cured. And then follow a great many Cautions about what the Epileptic ought to eat and drink. Alexand. Trallianus. Lib. 1.*

Κρεῶν μάλιστα μὲν ἀπείρχθαι πάμπαν ἔιδε μήγε, ἐν τῇ Θεραπείᾳ. —— οἶνον ὀλιγοποσίη, λευκὸν, λεπτὸν —— λαχάνων ἐφθῶν, ὁκόσῃ ἐς δύναμιν ὀριμέα. *Let him be kept altogether from Flefh : but if that cannot be, let him be kept fo during the Cure. Let him drink but little Wine, white, thin.—— Let him eat thofe boiled Herbs, which are as fharp as poffible, &c. Aretæus Θεράπεια χρονικῶν πάθων. c. 4.*

late to the Difficulty which they proposed. A *miraculous* Power was necessary to cure this Disorder in the Way which Jesus cured it. Is a *miraculous* Power to be attained by *Fasting* and *Prayer*? Or cannot a *supernatural* Power cure a Disorder, supposing it to be granted to Men as it was to the Apostles, unless they *fast* and *pray* for the Removal of the Disorder? I cannot conceive that our Saviour meant, that the *Person who* would *expel this Kind of Devil*, (or would cure an *Epilepsy of long Continuance*) must necessarily *fast and pray*, or else that he could not *possibly* cure it: For our *Saviour himself* did neither fast nor pray, notwithstanding he cured the Youth; nor did he blame his Disciples for *not fasting or praying*; nor did he charge them with any thing but *Unbelief*, as the Reason why they did not, or could not, cure the Disorder. Nor did the *Disciples* afterwards ever fast and pray (that we read of) in order to cure any Distempers, or to cast out any Devils. Nor was Fasting and Prayer required of the *distempered* Person by our Saviour in order to his Cure, since our Saviour shewed his Power in curing him instantaneously, and without the Means which the Physicians were wont to prescribe. *I charge thee to come out, and enter no more into him.* Nor, lastly, can I think, that our Saviour gave this Direction, “ to inform his Disciples, that this miraculous
“ Faith

“ Faith, being the special Gift of God, was
 “ to be fought for by flagrant Devotion, that
 “ it might never be wanting to them.”

An ingenious Physitian, to whom I proposed this Difficulty, offered me this critical Emendation of the Place; instead of ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ, to read ἐν προσεχέει νηστείᾳ. *in constant Fasting*, just as all the Physitians were wont in this Case to prescribe. If this were the true Reading in *St. Mark*, *St. Matthew* must be corrected in the same Manner, since it is agreed, that the Verse was not at all originally in *St. Matthew*, but inserted into his Gospel from *Mark*, as *Dr. Mills* has rightly observed. If this be the Case, the Meaning of the Words is——“ You could not cure
 “ this Man because of your Unbelief: But
 “ yet you see how easy this Distemper is removed; though it be a Distemper, which
 “ when of long Continuance, is allowed by
 “ all to be hard to be cured, and for which is
 “ usually prescribed a long Course of Fasting.”

This indeed would solve the Difficulty; but as no various Reading will countenance the Emendation, it may perhaps be thought to be cutting the Knot.

I am apt to think, that the Phrase, *by Fasting and Prayer*, is proverbially used, and implies *great Difficulty* only. For as neither Fasting nor Prayer were here used on this Occasion by either our Saviour, or the distempered

pered Person, the Words must be taken not in too strict a Sense. I conceive therefore that our Lord designed to oppose to the usual Length of Time and Difficulty of Cure, the Speed and Ease with which he had removed this Distemper; “ This is the Distemper that
 “ All People make so great Difficulty in curing it! yet you see how easily it is done
 “ by me.” Our Saviour says that it was *because of their Want of Faith*, that the Disciples could not cure this Person: nor does he blame them for not *Fasting*, but justifies them in not *Fasting* in other Places: Had they therefore had *Faith*, they might have cured this Distemper. This plainly shews, that in this Place, the Words are not to be taken too rigidly; but as when it is said one cannot obtain a Thing, *nec prece, nec pretio*, no more is meant, than that one in vain attempts to get it; So here——*This Kind goeth not out but by Prayer and Fasting*, no more is intended than, that this Disorder is very hardly or naturally impossible to be removed. But this I refer to the Reader’s Judgment; and shall readily submit to better Information.

There is another Instance of a *Demoniack*, *Mark* v. 1. (St. *Matthew* says there were *Two* of them, c. viii. 28.) which will require a particular Discussion. *Immediately there met him out of the Tombs a Man with A N unclean Spirit,*

Spirit, who had his Dwelling among the Tombs, and no Man could bind him, no not with Chains, because that he had been often bound with Fetters and Chains, and the Chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the Fetters broken in Pieces, neither could any Man tame him. And always Night and Day he was in the Mountains, and in the Tombs, crying, and cutting himself with Stones. St. Matthew says there were Two that met him, exceeding fierce, so that no Man might pass by that way, c. viii. 28. St. Luke's Account is thus, c. viii. 27---29. There met him one which had Devils a long Time, and ware no Cloths, neither abode in any House but in the Tombs.—THE unclean Spirit oftentimes had caught him, and he was kept bound with Chains, and in Fetters; and he brake the Bands, and was driven of the Devil into the Wilderness. Mark and Luke agree in this, that when our Saviour asked Him [the Man] his Name, HE answered, *Legion*: The Reason of this Answer is in St. Mark, for we are many; in St. Luke, the Reason is, because many Devils were entered into him. Lastly, When the Man was cured, the People found him ^a in his right Mind, say both Mark, c. v. 15. and Luke c. viii. 35.

^a Σωφρονεῖται.

From these Accounts of this unhappy Man, we must observe

1st, Here was a Person, *not in his right Mind*; running about *naked*, plucking asunder his *Chains* or *Fetters*; no one could *tame* him; living in the Mountains like a wild Man; roaring out; cutting himself; fierce; mischievous to Passengers. These are all ordinary Symptoms of *Lunacy*, or *Madness*, if the Person be suffered to ramble out in a raving Condition.

2^{dly}, It is said, no Man could *bind* or *tame* him. Hence it appears that his Case was *Madness*, and not *Epileptick*, since Epilepticks are not wont to be bound with *Chains*.

3^{dly}, This was a Person with *an unclean Spirit*, *Mark* v. 2. and he is, *before his Cure*, constantly treated by our Saviour, and by *Mark* and *Luke*, as possessed by *One* only Spirit. *Come out, thou unclean Spirit*, v. 8. *He was possessed with a Devil*, v. 15, 16. And so *St. Luke*.—*He commanded* THE unclean Spirit *to come out of the Man*, for oftentimes IT had caught him, c. viii. 29. Our Saviour then saying in the singular, *Come out Thou unclean Spirit*, at the Time he cured him; and not in the Plural,—YE unclean Spirits,—notwithstanding the Man had said he had a *Legion* in him, it follows that this Account of *many Devils* was nothing else but the Man's Imagination, and not the Truth

Truth of Things : For to call out *one Devil*, when a *Legion* was in him, was really doing no Service to the Person afflicted.

4thly, In St. *Mark* and *Luke*, where we have the Case of this Man at large described, we hear of no more than *One unclean Spirit*, till Jesus asked the Man *his Name*. Now as to *have a Devil* and to be *mad* is the same thing, this Man was considered merely as a *Madman*. And so all that follows is consistent. Our Saviour asks the Man his Name : His Answer was that of a mere *Madman*, that his Name was *Legion*, for many Devils were entered into him.

5thly, Taking him for a *Madman*, could any thing be more natural than what passed. He addresses our Saviour openly, and without any Fear or Care ; calling him *the Son of God*, and proclaiming him what he was. *What have I to do with thee, Jesus thou Son of God most high ?* It was easy for him to know Jesus, since *his Fame was spread* in all those Parts ; and that made him address him in the Manner he did. And it was as natural for him, considering him as a *Jew*, in his *mad Fit* to ask that the *Devils* which were in him might be permitted to enter into the *Herd of Swine* which he saw just before him. The Sight of them would naturally put the odd Image into his Head : And when *Jesus* is said to *permit* them, or *give them Leave* ;

or in *St. Matthew's* Language to say——Go.——All this is no more than not concerning himself with the fantastic Humour of a *Madman*; but humouring him whilst he cured him.

But the main Difficulty is still behind. *They*, i. e. the Devils, *when they were come out, went into the Herd of Swine, and behold! the whole Herd of Swine ran violently down a steep Place into the Sea, and were drowned*, Matt. viii. 32. All the Three Evangelists agree in telling us, that *the Devils entered the Swine*. But yet we must observe, that all this *Legion of Devils* was nothing but the *Madman's* Talk. If therefore *by any Accident* the Swine ran down the Precipice; whilst the Man or Men were under Cure, whether drove down, or frightened down by the *Madmen*, This would fully answer all the Story. For as to the Request itself, That was nothing but the mad Discourse of one disordered in his Senses: Just as I my self met with a Woman who told me of *Numbers of Devils* in her; and consistent with that Principle, she told me what *This* or *That* particular *Devil* said; and what they desired to be done; and she asked me, if I did not *bear* or *see* the Devils.

But supposing this Conjecture, that the *Madman drove* or *frighted* the Swine down a steep Place into the Sea, will not sufficiently account for the Expressions of the Evangelists, I conceive

ceive that there can be no greater Difficulty in this Case, than there is in one Man's Dis-temper passing into another Man. The *Madness* therefore of this Man may be conceived to pass into the Swine, just in the same Manner as the Leprosy of one Man could be transferred into another. The Leprosy of *Naaman* was to cleave to *Gebazi*, and to *his Seed for ever*, 2 Kings v. 27. Which way soever this is to be accounted for, I apprehend that by the same Method the Instance before us may be resolved without any Difficulty, the like Effect being imputable to a like Cause. I shall have a further Occasion to consider some other Circumstances of this Story by and by. In the Interim, I cannot but be surprized at a Calculation lately made of how *many Devils* entered into each *Hog*. Had Mr. *Woolston*, in his Design to expose Christianity to Contempt and Ridicule, calculated in such a Manner; I dare say, that those who were so zealous to inflict Punishments upon the Man for his Banter, would have pitched upon this very Instance, as one of the most flagrant of all.

I know not whether there is a single Instance of a *Demoniack*, which may not fairly and justly be explained by Epilepsy or Madness. The Case of the *Pythonefs*, Acts xvi. 16—18, is that of a Person that pretended to tell Fortunes; and engaged the Attention of
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the People, by speaking inwardly. This was called a Spirit of Divination; and when she was discovered, she was disabled from playing this Trick any longer, by St. *Paul's* saying to her,——*I command thee to come out of her.* No more was, or could be meant, than to put a Stop to the Trick the Woman used. She was not a *Demoniack* in the Sense of those that are mentioned in the Gospels; no more than the Woman whom St. *Luke* mentions c. xiii. 11—16, who is said to have had a *Spirit of Infirmary* eighteen Years, and to be bound by *Satan* so long. She was never reputed a *Demoniack*; but only to be so bent in her Body, as not to be able to lift herself up. A *Spirit of Infirmary* is nothing but an *infirm Disposition* or *Habit*, in the Jewish Phraseology: and the Christian Writers are full of the same Manner of Expressions, applying to every Vice, and every Passion, and every Disposition, the Name of *Spirit*. And as to the other Expression,——*Satan hath bound her,*——That Word would have been used, whatever was the true Cause of this Indisposition, or whatever was the Obstruction to her Health. *Satan* is nothing else but *Adversary*, and is to be understood according to the Subject to which it is applied. Thus *Matt.* xvi. 23, Our Saviour says to St. *Peter*, *Get thee behind me Satan, thou art an Offence unto me,* i. e. You are an *Adversary* to the Means by which
 God

God intends to erect his Kingdom, and you talk as such. *Peter* here is called *Satan*, from his opposing the Means of the Christian Dispensation. And so to be *bound of Satan*, when applied to an *Infirmity*, means no more than that which was an Adversary to Health, be it what it would. The Woman here, seems to be a *devout, religious, good, Woman*: She was in the *Synagogue* before her Cure, and as soon as she was cured, she *glorified God*. Our Saviour bears this Testimony to her, that *She was a Daughter of Abraham*; by which he meant to commend her for her *Faith*, and good *Disposition* of Mind. Why then should we imagine the *Devil*, or the *Prince of Devils*, to have been in her so many Years? Might not one have Grounds to think that he would have perverted her *Mind*, and not her *Body*; or have distorted her *Soul*, and not have made her Carcase *crooked*?

That it was customary for the Jews to apply the Term, *Satan*, to any *Enemy*, is plain from 2 *Chron.* xxi. 1. compared with the 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 1. In the former it is said——*Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel*. In the latter it is said——*The Anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and He moved David against them, to say, Go number Israel*. Not that God moved *David* to do as he did, for then there had been no Fault: but it was somebody

body that was an *Enemy* of the *Israelites* in the Event. And so 2 Sam. xix. 22. *David* says to *Abisha*, *What have I to do with you, ye Sons of Tserujah, that ye should be Satan to me?* i. e. that ye should be such deadly *Enemies* to me. So here in the Case of this *infirm Woman*, *Satan* had bound her: whatever was the Cause of her *Infirmity*, whether it proceeded from a natural Cause, or from some malicious Blow, or any other mischievous Accident, which in the Event proved so fatal to her, the Jews would say, that *Satan* bound her. *Judæis usitatissimum erat morbos—quibus distortum est corpus—malis Spiritibus attribuere.* Lightfoot on Matt. xvii. 15.

This Case then was mere *Infirmity*: But every Instance of Persons called *Demoniacks* are Instances of Epilepsy, or of Madness. Thus, *Acts viii. 7.* *The People attended to Philip, who cast out unclean Spirits crying with a loud Voice; i. e. he cured Men that were raving.* And so *Matt. ix. 32, 33.* *They brought unto him a dumb man, possessed with a Devil: and when the Devil was cast out, the dumb spake.* Again, *Matt. xii. 22.* *They brought unto him One possessed with a Devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him, insomuch that the blind and dumb both spake and saw.* The Possession being the same as being mad, the Circumstances which attended it shew how the Man was affected. E. g. in the Case just mentioned, the Madman was a blind

blind Man, and *dumb*, either through natural Infirmity, or else sullen through his Distemper. And if at any Time a determinate Number of Devils are said to have possessed any Person, *e. g. Mary Magdalene, out of whom went Seven Devils, Luke viii. 2. Mark xvi. 9.*—The Meaning is, that she had affirmed in her *Melancholy*, that she had so many Devils in her, just as the Madman said that he had a *Legion* of Devils in him. This will easily shew us the Meaning of what is said in the *Acts*, c. xix. 13—16, concerning the *vagabond Jews who took upon them to call over them which had evil Spirits the Name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth.*—And the Evil Spirit answered and said, *Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye? And the Man in whom the Evil Spirit was, leapt on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that House naked and wounded.* The mad man fell upon them, and tore their Cloaths off their Backs, and wounded them. These *Vagabond exorcists* pretended by certain Charms to cure this Disorder. They finding that the Apostles, endued with supernatural Powers from on high, did in the Name of Jesus easily and instantaneously cure any Disease; They, I say, likewise pretended to this Power; and being able by their Charms, or Exorcisms, to do nothing,

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they

they suffered justly the Demerit of their Rashness and Folly.

It will be worth our while on this Occasion to consider a little the Practices of these *vagabond Jews*, these strolling Cheats. St. *Luke* here describes them as *Strollers, taking upon them to expel Devils by the Name of the Lord Jesus*. This was a new Trick they had taken up: for the usual Practice among them had been to do it in the Name of the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. When *Justin Martyr*, and *Origen*, speak of *Jews* and *Gypsies* driving away Devils, they do it as if there was found to be a singular Force or Charm in those Words. *If you exorcise*, says *Justin* against *Trypho*, *in the Name of any of your Kings, or Just men, or Prophets, or Patriarchs, none of the Devils [or Demons] will obey you: But if indeed any of you exorcise by the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, probably he will obey*. However, it is observable, ^a that these *Exorcists* did not dare to rest the

^b Περιερχομένων.

^c Ἐὰν κατὰ παντὸς ὀνόματι τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν γεγενημένων ἢ βασιλέων ἢ δικαίων, ἢ προφητῶν, ἢ πατριαρχῶν ἐξορκίζητε ὑμεῖς, ἔχ' ὑποταγήσεται ἔδεν τῶν δαιμονίων· ἀλλ' εἰ ἄρα ἐξορκίζοι τις ὑμῶν κατὰ τῆς θεῆς Αβραάμ, καὶ θεῆς Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ θεῆς Ἰακώβ, ἴσως ὑποταγήσεται. Justin cont. Tryph. p. 311.

^d Τῇ τέχνῃ——χρώμενοι ἐξορκίζουσι, καὶ θυμιάμασι καὶ καταδίστοις χρῶνται. Ibid.

Even

Event upon the *Charm* they used ; but they had Recourse to *Art* : they used *Chains* to secure, as well as strong *Scents* to expel the *Demon* out of, the *Demoniack*.

Origen seems to impute the whole Cure to the mere *Sound* of the Words which these *Strollers* used ; and He is of Opinion that the Sounds——*The God of Abraham*——rightly spoken, were effectual to drive away Devils. I say *rightly spoken* : For the *Jewish Strollers* and the *Gypsies*, were not to use the *Greek Words*, nor did they in their Charms : But they took Care to pronounce *Hebrew Words*, the better to impose upon the ignorant People. ^c *The Egyptians*, says he, *who did not know who Abraham was*, yet used the Words *the God of Abraham* ; and so they did, *Isaac* and *Jacob* and *Israel* ; and imputed to, and promised great Wonders from those *Hebrew Sounds* ; and made it a Part of their *Secret*. Sometimes the *Jews* said in their Charms, ^d *The God of Israel, the God of the Hebrews, the God that drowned the King of the Egyptians,*

^c Πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπαδόντων δαίμονας χράνται ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν τῷ, ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραάμ.——ὅτι ἐπιστάμφοι δε τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀβραάμ. Τα δ' αὐτὰ λεκτέον καὶ περὶ τῷ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ περὶ τῷ Ἰακώβ, καὶ περὶ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, ἅτινας ὁμολογούμενος Ἑβραῖα ὄντα ὀνόματα πολλαχῇ τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις ἐπαγγελλομένοις ἐνέργειάν τινα ἐνέσπартαι μαθήμασι. Orig. c. Cels. l. i. p. 17.

^d Ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ καταποντάσας ἐν τῇ Ερυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, πολλαχὲς ὀνομάζεται παραλαμβανόμενος κατὰ δαιμόναν. Ibid. . 4. p. 184.

and the Egyptians, in the Red Sea ; And this was of mighty Influence against Demons, as Origen tells us, Book 4. p. 184.

One may well wonder, whence it is that such impudent *Vagabonds* with nothing but hard Names in their Mouths, should be able to gull and impose on so many as they did. But one would more wonder that Men of Learning, such as *Origen* was, should contend for the Power and Efficacy of such *Sounds* upon real Distempers. The Sons of *Sceva* might pretend to cast out evil Spirits by a new Charm as they thought ; and they might pretend to vye with *St. Paul*, in the miraculous Cure of distempered Persons, *in the Name of Jesus*. But for Men of Sense to endeavour to account for these Practices of Cheats, I mean for Wonders and prodigious Cures done, by *Sounds*, and *Charms* of Words, and such Sort of *magical* Operation, is methinks to promote the Cheat, and to encourage the World to consult *Inchanters*, and *Witches*, and *Wizards*, and *Necromancers*, notwithstanding it is said so expressly, that they which do such Things are *an Abomination to the Lord*, Deut. xviii. 12.

The Place where these Sons of *Sceva* pretended to cast out Devils by the Name of *Jesus*, viz. *Ephesus*, puts me in Mind of the *Ephesian* Letters which *Plutarch* in his *Symposiacs* says, *the Magicians commanded such as were posses-*

* Οἱ Μάγοι τὰς δαιμονιζομένους κελεύουσι τὰ Εφέσια γράμματα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καταλέγειν καὶ ὀνομάζειν. Plut. Sympos. Lib. vii. c. 5.

sed by Devils to read over, and pronounce, when they were by themselves. Ridiculous Words! Senseless Sounds! fit to cheat the ignorant with! They are of the same Stamp with the famous *Abracadabra*, or *Abraxas*, and a thousand others. The Reader may see the original *Ephesian* Words, (for some Cheats had afterwards added others to them,) in *Hesichyus*,^f Ἄσκι, Κατάσκι, Αἴζ, Τέτραξ, Δαμνάμενευς, Αἴσιον. They are just such Cant Words as now our strolling Gypsies use: by Ἄσκι they meant *Darkness*, Κατάσκι *Light*, by Αἴζ, *He*; Δαμνάμενευς signified *the Sun*, and Αἴσιον, *True*; as for Τέτραξ, it is not explained. This will shew sufficiently, what *Eusebius* has observed in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, Lib 3. c. 1. That these Impostors when they did any thing, [†] made use of certain Charms with unintelligible, inarticulate, and barbarous Sounds.

It is easy from the Instances produced to understand any other Case which the New Testament Writers mention. Their *Demoniacks* are much the same with the *Cerriti*, or *Larvati*, or *Lymphatici*, of the antient Romans, or with those whose Disorders are mentioned by *Hippocrates*, as coming from the Gods. Not that any of the Antients could

^f Εφέσια, γράμματα, ἣν μὲν πάλαι, ὕστερον δὲ προσέθεσαν τινες ἀπατεῶνες καὶ ἄλλα. φασὶ δὲ τῶν πρώτων τὰ ὀνόματα τάδε. ἄσκι, &c. *Hesichyus*.

^g Μετά τινος ἀσκήματος καὶ βαρβαρικῆς ἐπιρρήσεως. *Eus. Præ. Evan.* l. 3. c. 1.

prove, that those whom they called *Demoniacks*, or *Cerriti*, or *Larvati*, were really possessed by the Souls of *Ceres*, or *Apollo*, &c. or by the *Larvæ*. These Terms might imply an Hypothesis originally, in order to account for certain Disorders; but they do not the Truth of Things. And when once Words are applied to such or such Disorders, every Man that speaks of such Cases must use the technical Terms, and cannot with any Justice be deemed to *approve* the Hypothesis, because he speaks as Custom has made it necessary.

But against this Way of interpreting the Scripture, it is objected

First, That the Scriptures and Ecclesiastical Writers make a constant and a plain Distinction betwixt these two things, *the curing of Diseases*, and *the casting out Devils*. Thus *Matt. iv. 24*, *They brought to him all sick People that were taken with diverse Diseases, and those which were possessed with Devils; and those which were Lunatick, and those that had the Palsy*. So likewise, *Matt. x. 1*. He gave to the Disciples *Power against unclean Spirits to cast them out, and to heal all Manner of Sicknefs and Diseases*. And *Mark i. 34*. Our Saviour *healed many that were sick of diverse Diseases, and cast out many Devils*. And thus too *Luke iv. 40, 41*. *All they that had any sick with diverse Diseases brought them unto him; and he laid his Hands on every one of them*

them and healed them, and Devils also came out of many crying out and saying, Thou art Christ the Son of God. To all this the Answer is obvious,

That what is usually called *Possession of Devils*, is no more to be distinguished from *Disease*, or *Sickness*, than the *Palsy* is, which in the very first Citation from *St. Matthew* is put in the same Manner as *Lunacy* is, and is contradistinguished from *Diseases*. In truth, the proper Rendering is, He cured all that were taken with diverse Diseases, even *Demoniacks*, *Lunatics*, and *Paralyticks*. In the other Passages the Sense is very clear: He gave the Disciples Power over unclean Spirits, and not only that Power, but likewise to heal all other Distempers. As to Himself, our Saviour cured the sick, and likewise all Sorts of *Lunacy*. *Lunacy* or *Madness* is a Disease which appears in different Shapes: * *Some are merry, some are sad, some are easily kept within Bounds, and are only mad in their Words; others are furious and outrageous, and of these some only offend in using Violence, others apply Arts, and look and act as if they were in their Senses*

* Alii hilares, alii tristes sunt, alii facilius continentur, et intra verba desipiunt, alii insurgunt, et violenter quædam manu faciunt, atque ex his ipsis alii nihil nisi impetu peccant, alii etiam artes adhibent summamque speciem sanitatis in captandis malorum operum occasionibus præbent, sed exitu deprehenduntur. *Celsus* lib. 3. c. 18.

only to catch an Opportunity of doing Mischief: The Difference betwixt them is discovered by the Event; as Celsus has rightly observed. It is very hard to cure this Distemper by natural Means; and so it is to cure the Palsy: They who are afflicted with it ^h seldom are brought to be well again, and generally drag on a miserable Life, losing their Memories: Sometimes it is acute in particular Members; often it is a long Disease; commonly it is an incurable one. Celsus lib. 3. c. 27. The Meaning therefore of these Passages is, That our Saviour healed all Sorts of sick Persons; even those that were most difficult to cure.

If it be said, that the Scriptures not only make a Distinction betwixt *curing Diseases*, and *casting out Devils*; but likewise in this Passage of *St. Matthew* betwixt those that were *possessed with Devils*, and those that were *Lunatics*. I might answer,

That *Theophylact* did not read in his Copy those Words,——*And those which were possessed with Devils*: And it is plain they are wanting in some MSS. v. *Mills in loc.* In some Copies which have the Words——*And those which were possessed with Devils*——the following ones——*And those which were Lu-*

^h Raro ad sanitatem perveniunt, et plerumque miserum spiritum trahunt, memoria quoque amissa. In partibus nonnunquam acutus; sæpe longus; fere insanabilis est morbus. *Ibid.* l. 3. c. 27.

naticks — are omitted. But say that the common Reading is the true one, it amounts to no more than this, That our Saviour cured all Sorts of *Madness*, whencesoever it arose, whether it were from Melancholy, or from any other Cause. It is objected,

Secondly, “ The Difference betwixt Demoniacs and Lunaticks is evident from the Circumstances relating to the Devils to be, or that actually were, cast out. *e. g.* Christ suffered not the Devils to *speak*, because they knew him to be the Christ, Mark i. 34. Luke iv. 41. They said, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of God*: They expostulate with Christ, saying, *What have we to do with thee? Art thou come to torment us before the Time?* and pray that he would not torment them: They ask his Leave to *enter into the Swine*; and being entered, they hurried them into the Sea; and beg that they may not be *sent out of the Country*; They acknowledge that their Name was *Legion*. Now to make all these Sayings the Effects of a Disease, or to conceive that Christ *spoke* thus to a *Disease*, is too great an Evidence of one that is himself Diseased.”

As this is the principal Objection, I must be more particular in my Answer. And

First, It is said that Christ suffered not the Devils to speak *because they knew him to be the Christ*. The plain Meaning of these Texts is,

that he checked the Demoniacks whom he cured, just as he did likewise his immediate Disciples and Followers, if at any time they publicly and openly declared him to be the Christ. It would be foreign to the present Purpose to consider the Reason of this Conduct in our Saviour ; and it has been fully and satisfactorily shewn by Others. When a *possessed* Person, *i. e.* a *Lunatick*, declared Jesus to be the Christ, and with an Unguardedness usual to such Men said, what might expose him to Danger, and even Death, before his Time was come, it was right to *rebuke* them, and not to suffer them to talk in that Manner.

Again, 'Tis said, Jesus *rebuked* the Devils, *Luke* iv. 41. Now to conceive that he *spoke* to a *Disease*, is absurd.

The Answer is very obvious ; since the same Manner of Expression, nay the same Word, ἐπετίμησε, is applied to a *Disease* but two Verses before, which is here applied to *Devils*, *i. e.* *Madness*. He *rebuked the Fever* in Peter's Wife's Mother, is no harder to be understood, than He *rebuked Madness*, the one being as much a Disease as the other. If by *rebuking* Devils, or Demons, be meant, His not suffering them to say Who he was, This has already been considered. But I must add, that the *Romans* considered *Fever*, as a certain Being to which they ¹ *built Altars*

¹ Ara vetus stat in Palatio Febris. Cicero de Legibus. Παλαιὸν οἱ Πυρετῇ θύσαν. Clemens Protrept. Ὡς ἐν νόμῳ πυρετῆ βωμὸς ἐστὶ. Arrian. in Epiet. l. 1. c. 19.

and sacrificed. In this Case, to *rebuke a Fever* is exactly the same with *rebuking a Devil*. Each was in reality nothing but a *Disease*; and yet each was considered, and treated as if it were a *Person*.

It is said, That the *Devils* cryed out, *Thou art the Christ the Son of God*. Ans. If the Man that was possessed, or *mad*, made such Declarations in Consequence of his Distemper, it may I think in the same Propriety be attributed to the Distemper, as when St. *Paul* says, *Rom. vii. 17, 20. It is no more I that do it, but Sin that dwelleth in me.* The *Madmen* spoke what *Fame* had spread: For the *Fame of Jesus* very soon went throughout all *Syria*, and great *Multitudes of People* followed him from *Galilee*, and from *Decapolis*, and from *Jerusalem*, and from *Judea*, and from beyond *Jordan*. *Matt. iv. 24, 25.* Now as this Imprudence, in saying what our Saviour's Circumstances would not admit, was the Effect of Distemper in these *mad* men, and the Distemper was imputed to *Demons*, it was not unnatural to forbid these *Demons*, i. e. the Man who was disordered, to publish what was so unfit and improper to be published. Wherever *Diseases* are treated as *Persons*, or *Virtues* or *Vices* are considered as such, it is always usual to speak to them in *personal* Characters. Thus, not to repeat what I just now observed about the Goddess *Fever*, The Goddess *Fides* had a Temple built to

her ; and see how she is addressed in *Plautus's Aulularia*, Act. IV. Sc. 2. *Euclio* says, ^k *Take heed, O Faith, and do not shew any one that my Gold is there.* And *Strobilus* hearing him, says, O Faith, *Do not you be more faithful to him than to me, &c.* I shall presently take Notice of an Instance, where That is directly imputed to a *Devil*, which could belong only to the *Man* that was disordered.

It is added in the Objection, That the *Devils* expostulated with Christ, saying, *Let us alone, What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth: Art thou come to destroy US? I know thee who thou art; the Holy one of God*, Luke iv. 33, 34. Mark i. 23—26. At another Time, *They cried out saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus thou Son of God? Art thou come hither to torment us before the Time?* Matt. viii. 29.

In the first of these Places, I cannot but take Notice of a very extraordinary Change of

^k *Euclio.* Tu modo cave cuiquam indicassis, aurum meum est isthic, Fides.

————— Verum id te quæso ut prohibeassis, Fides.

Vide, Fides, etiam atque etiam nunc, salvam ut aulam abs te auferam.

Tuæ Fidei concredidi aurum: in tuo luco et sano modo est situm.

Strob. ————— Fides, Cave tu illi fidelis, quæso, potius fueris, quam mihi.

————— perscrutabor sanum, si inveniam uspiam Aurum, dum hic est occupatus: sed si repperero, O Fides, Multi congialem plenam faciam tibi fideliā.

Plaut. Aulul. Act. iv. Sc. 2.

Persons,

Persons. The Man which had A Spirit of an unclean Devil, says, *Let us alone, What have WE to do with thee? Art thou come to destroy Us? I know thee who thou art. And Jesus rebuked HIM, saying, hold THY Peace.* Would any but a mad man have reasoned thus? Had he nothing to do with the Holy one of God, who was already so famous for his curing all Manner of Diseases? Or why is it said, *Art thou come to destroy Us*, since the Man had but One unclean Spirit? If it be said, that the Word *Us*, relates to the Man, and the unclean Spirit, in what Sense did the Holy one of God come to destroy the Man? I add

2. That the Evangelists sometimes impute that to the Cause of a Disease which is proper and peculiar only to the Man who is distempered: They impute that to Devils which the Man alone could do. And therefore if it be said in some Places, that Devils expostulated with Christ, That may be understood of the Man expostulating; just as when that is imputed to Devils which does not, or cannot, belong to them. e. g. St. Mark says, c. iii. 11. *Unclean Spirits when they saw him, FELL DOWN before him, and cried saying, Thou art the Son of God. Unclean Spirits saw him, and fell down! No. The Persons who had the Disorders imputed to unclean Spirits did so. Just in the same Manner as Devils*

Devils fall down *before him*, did they cry out, or expostulate with Christ; *i. e.* The Persons who were so or so affected did so.

It was a Remark made at least as long ago as the *Author of the Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, usually annexed to *Justin Martyr*, ¹That the Scripture attributes to the *Demoniack* the Works of the Demon. The Reverse of this is as true, That the Scriptures attribute to *Demons* the Acts of the *Demoniack*: which shews, that in these Cases, we are not to regard the Letter, but the real and exact Meaning of the Sacred Writers.

To account fully for all the Difficulties in the Other Passage, *Matt. viii. 29*, and the corresponding Places in the Other Evangelists, is something more hard. It has been already observed, that when the Man said, that a *Legion* of Devils was in him, This was nothing but the Answer of a *Madman* to our Saviour that asked him his Name. It is generally supposed that in this Story, it was the Devils which cried out,——*Art thou come hither to torment us before the Time*. But there is no Necessity for this Construction; and it is plain that both *St. Mark* and *St. Luke* expressly ascribe this Declaration to the *Man* himself. *St. Mark's* Words are, ch. v. 6, 7, *When* [the

¹ Ἡ θεία γραφή τῶν δαιμονιῶντι προσήψε δαίμονος τὰ ἔργα.
Quest. et Resp. ad Orthodox. Quæ. 41.

Man] He *saw* Jesus *afar off*, he *ran and worshipped him*, and *cried out with a loud Voice*, and *said*——*I adjure thee that thou torment me not.* St. Luke expresses himself in the very same Manner——*When He saw Jesus*, he *cried out*, and *fell down before him*, and *with a loud Voice said*, *What have I to do with thee*——*I beseech thee torment me not*, Luke viii. 28. St. Matthew relates this of *Two Men*; and therefore consistently with his Narration, he says——*Art thou come hither to torment Us.* The Reason of the Man's, or Men's, making this Request, seems to be, that they remembered the ill Usage they had formerly met with, when they were bound with *Chains and Fetters*: and consistent with that Notion, they beg of Christ that he would not, βασανίσαι, torment, or vex them. βασανίσαι, which we interpret *to torment*, signifies not only to torment in the way of Punishment, or to extort the Truth, but is used in general in any way *to vex*, or *put to trouble*; And figuratively it is used in Cases where it signifies no more than trying any thing as with or by a Touchstone. In this place the Sense is plain; The Men who had felt the Pain and Anguish arising from being *fetter'd and chain'd*, desire that *Jesus* would not put them to that Torment again.

There is another Difficulty in Relation to this Story; and that is, It is said that the Devils

Devils besought him, that he would not command them to go into the Deep, Luke viii. 31. St Mark says, *He*, that is, the Man, *besought him much that He* [Jesus] *would not send them away out of the Country.* ch. v. 10. In some Copies of St. Mark it is——that He would not send him, i. e. the unclean Spirit, out of the Country. The Lunatick had said that his Name was *Legion*; that *he had many Devils in him*; and he had desired that those things which he called Devils, might enter into the Herd of Swine. These were Instances of excessive Madness, and that the Disorder was in a high Degree upon him. The Request here made was another Instance of the same Kind, that Christ would not *command them to go into the great Abyss.* Had he been in a *right Mind* at this Time, would he have desired the Company of such malicious Beings near himself, or near his Neighbours? Or would he not have desired them to be sent *into the deep*, or any where else rather than continue in his Country? The History of this Cure therefore seems to me to be thus. When This Man, who was not *in his right Mind*, saw Jesus, he ran and worshipped him. Jesus upon this commanded the Disorder to cease: Before this Effect was produced, or whilst the Madman was before our Saviour, He requested that *Jesus* would not command the Devils (which were, as he said, *many that were entred into him*)

him) to go into the Deep; And seeing the Swine there, he besought him that he would suffer *the Devils* to go into Them. This was all the Effect of high Madness; and natural upon that Supposition: It was as natural for such a Man, or Men, to run amongst the Herd and drive them down the Precipice. And when this Mischief was thus done by the *Madmen*, could any thing, after they were brought to a *right Mind*, be more natural, than for them to desire to be taken along with *Jesus*, when he left that Country?

Another Difficulty in relation to this Cure is, That *Matt. viii. 29.* The Madmen say to Christ, *Art thou come hither to torment Us before the time?* When it is asked, What *Time?* the common Answer is, Before the time of the *Day of Judgment*, until which the *Evil Angels* are reserved in Chains under *Darkness.* 2 *Pet. ii. 4.* *Jude 6.* I am apt to think, that this Passage may more justly and consistently be accounted for thus. When the Men saw our Saviour, (known sufficiently thereabouts, and famed for curing all Disorders) they cried out, *Art thou come ὧδε hither, viz. into the Country of the Gergesenes,* ^m *ὡς καὶ, ante tempus, i. e. unseasonably,* sooner than was expected or desired, to vex us? Or it may be, *Art thou comeⁿ,* thus, after

^m Πρόωρον, πρὸ καιρῶ. *Hesych.*

ⁿ ὧδε, οὕτως, εἰς τῆτον τὸν τρόπον. *Hesych.*

this manner, untimely, to *torment* us? In this Sense *ὁπὲρ καιρῶ* will be opposed to *ἐν καιρῶ*, or *ἐπὶ καιρῶ*, or *εἰς καιρὸν*, which signify *opportunately*, or *seasonably*; and will be the same as *ὁπῶρος*, or *ακαίρως*, *untimely*, *unseasonably*. But this I submit, as I do whatever I have said on this Subject, to the Judgment of the candid Reader, who will take the trouble of examining and considering all the Circumstances of this Cure, which on all imaginable Schemes must be allowed to be attended with some Difficulties.

A *Third* Objection is taken from hence, That Christ sometimes puts Questions to these Demons, asking their *Names*: Sometimes he commands them to be *silent*: and sometimes to *come out* of a Man, and *enter no more* into him. v. *Mark* i. 25. *Luke* iv. 31. *Mark* ix. 25.

The Answer to these Difficulties is easily collected from what has been already said. *e. g.* He did not ask the *Devil*, but the disordered *Man*, his Name: When the Man saw Jesus, *He* cryed aloud——And Jesus said unto *Him*, what is *Thy* Name. When in *St. Luke* it is said, Devils *came out of many*, crying out and saying, *Thou art Christ the Son of God*; and he rebuking them, suffered them not to speak, or to say that they knew him to be the *Christ*,——The Meaning is, He rebuked the Persons who had such Disorders

ders upon them, when he cured them ; nor would he suffer them to publish openly that he was the *Christ*. When it is said, that Devils were commanded to *come out* of a Man, it is the same Sort of Language with *rebuking a Fever* : which if any one should take too rigidly, it would imply the *Fever* likewise to be an intelligent Being, or a *Goddeſs* as the *Romans* made it. The Meaning therefore of ſuch Expreſſions is no more than, “ *Be thou cured* ; or “ *be free from this Diſorder.*” Theſe Diſorders being ſuppoſed to ariſe immediately from Demons reſiding in, and working upon the Body, it was natural enough to ſpeak *as to* them, and to command them : Whereas when now thoſe Caſes are looked upon as proceeding from different Cauſes, the Language muſt neceſſarily be changed, and it muſt ſound harſh to our Ears. When the Gods were ſuppoſed to inhabit any *Statue*, the People made no Scruple of addreſſing them as in that Statue ; they ſpoke to them in that ; and worſhipped them in that ; and implored their Aid from that ; and Cuſtom made it eaſy and familiar to them to do ſo. But to Us the Language and the Notion being rare, we think it harſh to talk of *rebuking a Fever*, or to ſpeak to Demons, when we know that the Diſorder is owing to quite a different Cauſe.

A Fourth Objection is, that *these* Demoniacs were of such Strength, that no Chains or Fetters could bind them. Mark v. 3. Nor is it possible for Diseases to fear to be destroyed, or sent out of the Country, or into the Abyss by Christ, since this is an Absurdity that strikes one at the first Sight.

It is easy to answer to this that these Expressions, *no Man could bind him, no not with Fetters*, can mean no more than this, that the disordered Person had been often bound with Fetters and Chains, and he had often broke loose. There needs no straining of Words to answer this; And as to the other Part of the Objection, it is founded upon mistaking the Texts, as has been shewn.

I know not by what Authority the Author of the *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox* asserts, that ^mthe Demon did not enable the Man to break his Chains and Fetters, but the Demon himself broke them. This is owing to an Hypothesis, which has been shewn sufficiently to be groundless.

But the Last Objection appears to have some Weight in it, viz. Why would Jesus countenance such a Notion as this, if there were really no such things as Demons, nor Persons possessed

^m 'Ου τῷ σώματι παρέχεν ὁ δαίμων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι συντρίβειν καὶ ἀφαιρῆσαι τὰ δεσμά καὶ τὰς ἀλύσεις· ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ὁ δαίμων συνέτριβε καὶ διέρρηξε τὰ δεσμά καὶ τὰς ἀλύσεις, εἰ καὶ ἡ θεία γραφὴ τὰ δαιμονιῶντι προσῆψε τῷ δαίμονι τὰ ἔργα. Quest. et Resp. ad Orthodoxos. Resp. 41.

by them? Why would he not rid Men of such pernicious Opinions, and plainly tell them, that these *Possessions* were nothing else but *Lunacy* or *Epilepsy*, or whatever other Name the Disorder had?

To this I answer, that no Man conceives the Design of the sacred Writings to be to correct the Mistakes of Men in *Physick*, more than it is in *Astronomy*, or any other Art: No nor is it its Design to guard against wrong Notions of God himself. It speaks of God in the Language of the Vulgar, in a figurative manner, and supposes all Men to have such common reasonable Notions of him, as not to understand literally what is said of his *Hands* and *Ears* and *Eyes*. It speaks of the Motion of the Sun, and the Rest of the Earth; and yet it is now universally known that that is all Mistake. And so here; It was the miraculous Cure which our Saviour did, the Cure of all Sorts of Distempers, whatever they were, and how long soever they had continued, which was the thing by which he evinced what he was: But as to the *Cause* of such Disorders, it was of no Consequence to his Design to explain them. This was what indeed the Philosophers of old expected: *They seek after Wisdom*, says St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 22. But what was foreign to our Saviour's Purpose he very wisely avoided, content with what would
 prove

prove him to be *Christ the Power and the Wisdom of God*.

And now to resume the Questions proposed at first, the Answer to them is very easy. How comes it to pass that we read of so many Persons just at *the particular Time* of our Saviour's Appearance under the Power of *Devils*?

Answer. We meet with no more at *that Time*, than we meet with *now*; or than were in Being at *all Times* equally, and will be always, when their Case is rightly understood.

Q. Whence is it that we so *rarely* meet with Accounts of the *same Disorders* amongst Men, either *before*, or *after*, the Times of our Saviour?

A. The Instances produced of Persons *supposed* to be possessed *by the Gods*, shew that there were always such like Cases in the World. The Philosophy of the Antients led them into Mistakes in these Matters; and now those Mistakes are made the Foundations of the present Confusion in Men's Minds.

Q. Whence was it that God permitted so much *Power* to such *unclean Spirits*, who seem to delight in doing Mischief?

A. God did not permit in Fact any such Power as is imagined to *unclean Spirits*: nor was there any Instance of *unclean Spirits* having

ving such Power over the Bodies of Men, when the Case comes to be examined thoroughly.

Q. What then were those *Possessions* which are so frequent in the New Testament?

A. They appear all to be Cases of *Madness*, or of *Epilepsy*; which all the Antients agreed in imputing to their *Gods*, or *Demons*. The New Testament Writers made use of the Terms and Language usual in their Times: And as the Hypotheses they then had in Philosophy equally served the Purpose of our Saviour in his great Designs, as the very exactest Truth would have done, it had been to no Purpose for him to have engaged in Disputes, or to have opposed the received Notions. His Cause would not have been in a better Way; nor would the Cause of the *One God* in Opposition to Idolatry; or of *Religion* and *Virtue* in Opposition to *Vice*, have been better promoted, by refuting the *Demonology* then received, than by using the common ordinary Language: it was enough that our Saviour shewed a *Power* over all that was before Him, and cured the Diseases *with a Word*, which to every body else were *incurable*.

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